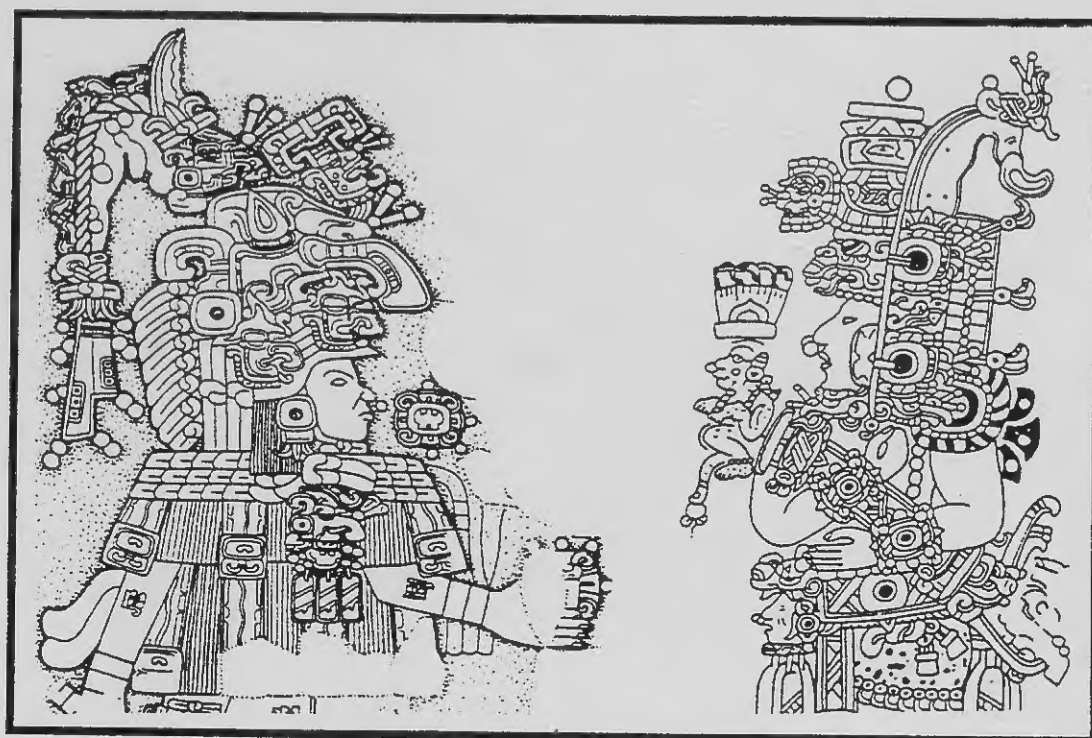


# **The Proceedings Of The Maya Hieroglyphic Workshop**



**March 10-11, 2001  
University of Texas at Austin**

**The Coming of Kings**

**Presented By:  
Nikolai Grube  
and  
Simon Martin**

**Epi-Olmec Writing**

**Presented By:  
Terrence Kaufman  
and  
John Justeson**

**Transcribed and Edited By:  
Phil Wanyerka**

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my friends and colleagues, Nikolai Grube, Simon Martin, Terry Kaufman, and John Justeson, for allowing me the privilege to transcribe and document the proceedings of this, the XXVth Maya Hieroglyphic Forum at Texas! This year's Forum focused on two major themes. The first, entitled *The Coming of Kings: Writing and Dynastic Kinship in the Maya Area Between the Late Preclassic and Early Classic*, was presented by Nikolai Grube and Simon Martin and focused on the question of whether the Maya of the Classic Period recognized a difference between what Mayanists refer to as the Preclassic and Classic Periods. The answer appears to be a resounding yes based on the decipherments of some of their earliest hieroglyphic inscriptions that refer to pre-dynastic events and rulers. As perhaps one of highlights of Nikolai's and Simon's presentation was the discovery of two separate counts being recorded in the inscriptions: a count of kings and a count of families. Although there is some ambiguity as to how these counts are to be interpreted, their discovery will certainly lead to new and exciting insights and breakthroughs concerning Maya kinship and by extension, Maya kingship. The second theme of this year's Forum, entitled *Epi-Olmec Hieroglyphic Writing and Texts* was presented by Terry Kaufman and John Justeson and focused on their decipherment of the Epi-Olmec writing system: a writing system thought by some scholars to be undecipherable. After a thorough discussion of the Epi-Olmec writing system, Terry and John then presented a detailed structural and linguistic analysis of La Mojarra Stela 1, the longest known Epi-Olmec inscription. As perhaps one of highlights of Terry's and John's presentation was their discussion on the methodology of decipherment in general and in regards specifically to the decipherment of the Epi-Olmec script. As a subject that has been long overdue and somewhat neglected during these workshops, Terry's and John's discussions concerning the methodology of decipherment will certainly will be remembered by those who attended as being one of the most important presentations ever made at these meetings.

I would also like to thank Peter Keeler and the entire staff of the Maya Meetings at Texas for their continued enthusiasm and support of my work in documenting these annual meetings! With that said I would like to dedicate this, the nineteenth volume in the series entitled *The Proceedings of the Maya Hieroglyphic Workshop* to the Foundation for the Advancement of Mesoamerican Studies, Inc. As many of you know, I received my first major academic research grant from the fine folks at FAMSI this past year. With FAMSI's support I was able to conduct my own field project (The Southern Belize Epigraphic Project) aimed at documenting the carved monuments of the Toledo District: a corpus that I have devoted the past 11 years studying. The professional documentation of this corpus could not have been conducted were it not for the generous support of the Foundation for the Advancement of Mesoamerican Studies, Inc. I wish to thank the entire Board of Directors at FAMSI for their enthusiastic support of my project!

Phil Wanyerka  
August 2001

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## GLOSSARY OF MAYAN TERMS

*ch'am*: to take , to receive  
*ch'een*: well, cave  
*chi*: deer  
*hil*: to rest  
*huli*: to arrive here  
*hu'un*: bundle  
*ik'*: black  
*ikatz*: bundle  
*ilaj*: it was witnessed  
*i-siij*: and then was born  
*k'al tun*: binding of the stone  
*kan witik*: 4 roots  
*kaywak*: celt  
*k'inich*: sun-faced, heated  
*lajun*: 10  
*mam*: grandfather, ancestor  
*naah*: house  
*ok'*: stand, foot, base  
*ol*: portal  
*ox witik*: 3 roots  
*Sak Hix Mut*: white jaguar bird  
*tab'ay*: to dedicate  
*tal*: successor  
*tali*: to come from  
*te*: family, dynasty, lineage  
*tik*: plural suffix  
*tz'akbul*: to set in order  
*tzik haab'*: the count of the years  
*tzutz*: to finish, to complete  
*uh-ti-ya*: it happened at  
*u-kab'ij*: look after, by, agency verb that introduces the true originator of an event  
*u-k'al hu'un*: he binds the royal headdress  
*u-k'al tun*: the binding of the stone  
*u-natal*: the first  
*utiij*: it happened at  
*u-yuub'*: his conch-shell trumpet  
*wak kab'nal*: 6<sup>th</sup> earth  
*we*: to eat  
*wi*: root  
*wite-naah*: roots of the tree  
*xa*: also  
*yax*: green, blue, beautiful  
*yeb'al*: the steps of

*yo*: numerical classifier  
*yok' te*: family, dynasty, the foot of the tree  
*yop*: leaf  
*y-uy*: his necklace  
*y-uk/y-uk'ib*: his drinking thing  
*y-uuh*: his necklace



# THE XXVth MAYA HIEROGLYPHIC FORUM AT TEXAS

## Part I: The Coming of Kings: Writing and Dynastic Kingship in the Maya Area Between the Late Preclassic and the Early Classic

Presented by  
Nikolai Grube and Simon Martin

Saturday, March 10<sup>th</sup>, 2001

### INTRODUCTION

**Peter Keeler's Opening Remarks (9:05 AM):** Welcome to the Maya Hieroglyphic Forum. This is event number 3 of the Maya Meetings at Texas 2001. My name is Peter Keeler and I am the Director of the Maya Meetings for those of you who are new here. The "Dynamic Duo" are about ready to perform here in just a few minutes, however, before we get started I would like to introduce Justin Kerr who would like to say a few words to the audience.

(Justin Kerr) I hope this is the last time that I have to do anything like this again, but Nikolai and Peter asked me to say a few words about Richard Johnson. I met Richard the first year that I came to what was known then as the Long Workshop and in fact, it was the second Long Workshop. I truly admired Richard Johnson. He would just sit there in front of a pile of codices and he would work on all of them. Now that Richard is gone I am going to say something that may be irreverent to many people, but I think Richard would have enjoyed it! Where I see him now, Richard is still sitting at the head of the table, but on his left is Itzamna and on his right is God L. I think ladies like Ixchel are sitting down here and way down at the end of the table are the Hero Twins and the Maize God chuckling to each other. I see Richard is arguing with them: "Why don't the numbers work the way they are supposed to?" I think Richard is going to be going at them for a very long time and I wish him well. I am sure that they are enjoying his company and so here's to Richard. Thank you!

(Peter Keeler) Yes, Richard will be missed and is already missed by many of us since he can no longer be around to ask very specific questions about the codices. Therefore, we are also going to miss Richard for his technical insights too. I would like to introduce you to Richard's sons, wives, and grandchildren who are here today. Many of them come to the Maya Meetings regularly because they received a bit of the bug about the Maya from Richard. They all joined us today since this year's Maya Meetings are dedicated to Richard. Please welcome the Johnsons! (Applause) And now the "Dynamic Duo!"

(Nikolai Grube) Thank you very much Peter and welcome you all to Texas! (Laughter) I am sure that Richard Johnson is with us and I'm sure that one specific god into which Richard has transformed into is God L: the God of Tobacco. Richard will be missed by all of us who work

with the codices. He has been with me since my first visit to the Texas Meetings in 1989 until now. He was truly a permanent member of the Texas Meetings.

Well, this year we, the "Dynamic Duo" which includes Simon Martin from London and myself from Texas, are planning to talk about the transition from the Preclassic to the Early Classic. In addition, we plan on talking about what the hieroglyphic inscriptions and the iconography of the Maya Lowlands can tell us about the processes that were going on in the time period that was discussed during the Symposium concerning the Middle Preclassic, the Late Preclassic, and the Early Classic Periods. I must say that the material Simon and I will be presenting is about 1% of our own research and 99% of the material covered is the result of research done by other people. There are just too many people to name here, but I would like to especially thank David Mora-Morin. David has drawn many of the monuments and many of the hieroglyphic inscriptions that are featured in this year's workbook. In addition to his drawings, I would also like to acknowledge David's decipherments and intellectual contributions. I would also like to thank John Justeson, Peter Mathews, and the many other people seated here in the auditorium for their contributions. We will also acknowledge some of the other people's work as we go through the workshop. Simon and I are just drawing upon the work of others and incorporating new ideas into what we are about to present you. I should also mention that many of the ideas that we will be presenting are still be analyzed or are still in development. Very often, Simon and I do not agree about these issues. Last year in our presentation about Tikal, Simon and I had worked together researching the inscriptions for some 7 years. For this particular workshop, Simon and I first sat down to discuss these particular texts last night. Therefore, I am not sure what Simon is going to contribute and so this could be quite interesting! I would like you to help and I would like you to ask questions whenever there is something you don't quite understand. I am sure that we can make this Forum incredibly productive if you become part of the arguments that are to be discussed here today.

We have organized our presentation into 3 major parts. One of the major questions to be asked here is "Was there a difference between the Preclassic and the Classic Period for the Maya? Did the Maya themselves recognize that there was something like a Preclassic or is this entirely an artifact of archaeological terminology? This is what anthropologists would call an etic perspective or an "outside" point of view. Is this something that we have constructed in order to make the development of Maya civilization understandable or did the Maya themselves feel that there was something before the onset of the Classic Period that was different? Well, this is one of the questions we hope to answer. First we will see how the Maya of the Classic Period refer to the Maya of the Preclassic Period and the second part will focus on the contemporary texts to talk about the "Founding of Dynasties." We will also talk about how dynastic kingship developed and spread over the Maya Lowlands. Finally, we will have a discussion of the development of Maya writing. So let's get started!

## The Emic Perspective: Maya Inscriptions Recounting Events Between the Creation of the Universe and the First Contemporary Hieroglyphic Inscriptions

Well, we will start with this strange-looking table (Fig.1). This is something that Simon and I have stolen as so often we do! This is from the work of Christian Prager and it depicts an overview of hieroglyphic dates from Classic Maya inscriptions. Here's how you read this table. As you can see here, we have a column of *bak'tuns* and so all of the dates that run across this line feature dates that fall into the 9<sup>th</sup> *bak'tun*. The 9<sup>th</sup> *bak'tun* begins in the year 435 and ends in 830. Then as you can see, there are 20 dates that fall within the 9<sup>th</sup> *bak'tun*. The numbers at the top of the chart are the 20 numbers representing each of the *k'atuns* dates and so there are 12 dates that fall in the period of 9.1.0.0.0. There are 20 dates for the period marking 9.2.0.0.0 and there are 27 dates for the period marking 9.3.0.0.0. This should give you an idea as to how this table is to be read.

As you can see, the majority of dates falls into the period of 9.11.0.0.0 - 9.19.0.0.0.0 which is the Late Classic Period: the period when Maya writing really flourished. Beginning with the 10<sup>th</sup> *bak'tun* you can see that the number of dates and the number of recorded events drastically decreases. Well in our view and in the view of archaeologists and epigraphers, the Classic Period began in about AD 250 or about 8.10.0.0.0. At about 8.10.0.0.0 or 8.12.0.0.0 we get the first contemporary Maya date. This first contemporary date was recorded on Tikal, Stela 29. We also have a couple of other very early dates from sites such as Uaxactun and on the Leiden Plaque. Thus, as you can see, some 11 dates were recorded for the 8.16.0.0.0 period. As you will see, we also have a great number of dates for the *bak'tun* numbered 0 and the *k'atun* numbered 0. This happens to be the zero-date in the Maya calendar. These 16 dates are not contemporary dates, rather they are retrospective dates that feature events concerned with the creation of the universe. These are dates recorded in the inscriptions at Palenque on such monuments as the Tablet of the Cross, the Tablet of the Sun, the Tablet of the Foliated Cross, the new Temple 19 text, and Quirigua Stela C, where they contain references to the creation of the universe. Here, we have a couple of dates that correspond to events between the creation of the Maya universe and the onset of the first historical or contemporary inscriptions. These dates that fall between the creation and before the first contemporary dates are the ones that are of great interest to us. They are important because they probably talk about mythical events or early history. The dates that are of importance here are the ones that fall between 1000 BC and AD 250, which is the Preclassic Period. Therefore, if we study these inscriptions we will probably understand what was happening during the Preclassic Period.

Julian Calendar	K'atun																						Julian Calendar
	Bak'tun	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19		
-4690	9																					-4296	
-4296	10																					-3901	
-3901	11																					-3507	
-3507	12											2									3	-3113	
-3113	0	16																				-2719	
-2719	1																			6		-2324	
-2324	2	1	2																			-1930	
-1930	3																					-1536	
-1536	4																					-1142	
-1142	5	1								1								1				-747	
-747	6																		2		1	-353	
-353	7		1									1		1					11	18	19	435	
41	8									2		1	1	152	118	160	185	154	162	123	56	830	
435	9	20	12	20	27	31	17	32	29	41	71	95	121	152	4				2		2	1124	
830	10	25	29	30	18	4					1												

Figure 1. The Number of Maya Dates per *Bak'tun* and *K'atun* (Christian Prager).

One of the most important inscriptions that mentions the Preclassic Period is the Temple of the Inscriptions text at Tikal (Fig.3). (Simon Martin) Now this is something we did not talk about last year because it is such a difficult text. However, this text neatly illustrates this idea of a liminal period between what we would like to regard as history and what the Maya wrote in pursuit of history. Defining these two aspects is going to be difficult.

This is the facade text on the Temple of the Inscriptions (Temple VI) of Tikal. Texts were recorded on 3 sides of this very large back palace. Each one of these glyphs measures some 3 feet across and so they are enormous. For those of you who have been to Tikal at a certain time of the day when the sun is very high and the light is raking, you can still see quite a bit of this text. In the Tikal archives at the University of Pennsylvania there is a photographic record of each and every glyph of this text. Next week, with Chris Jones' help, we are going to try and improve this drawing. The text begins with a *Bak'tun* Ending of 5.0.0.0.0 or 1142 BC. The main protagonist throughout this text is a person nicknamed the "White Jaguar Bird." His name may actually read *Sak Hix Mut* (Fig.2). This name is also associated with the name of a person who emerges out of Vision Serpents and he appears in other contexts during the Classic Period. In any case, this person appears to be a god; however, in every instance he carries the emblem glyph of Tikal. Thus, for the Maya themselves, they seem to refer to this individual as being a Maya king. The text continues through a series of other dates before coming up to contemporary time. For those of you who have worked on the texts of Palenque, this will seem quite familiar. This notion is also very central to Classic Maya kingship where the idea of kingship is something that is directly descended from supernaturals. As we will see, there is a kind of dichotomy between different sources of legitimization and different sources of divine power. Therefore, we also see a lot of connections to the family or patriline of living people and to supernatural beings or ancestors.



Figure 2. The *Sak Hix Mut* name (Drawing by Simon Martin)



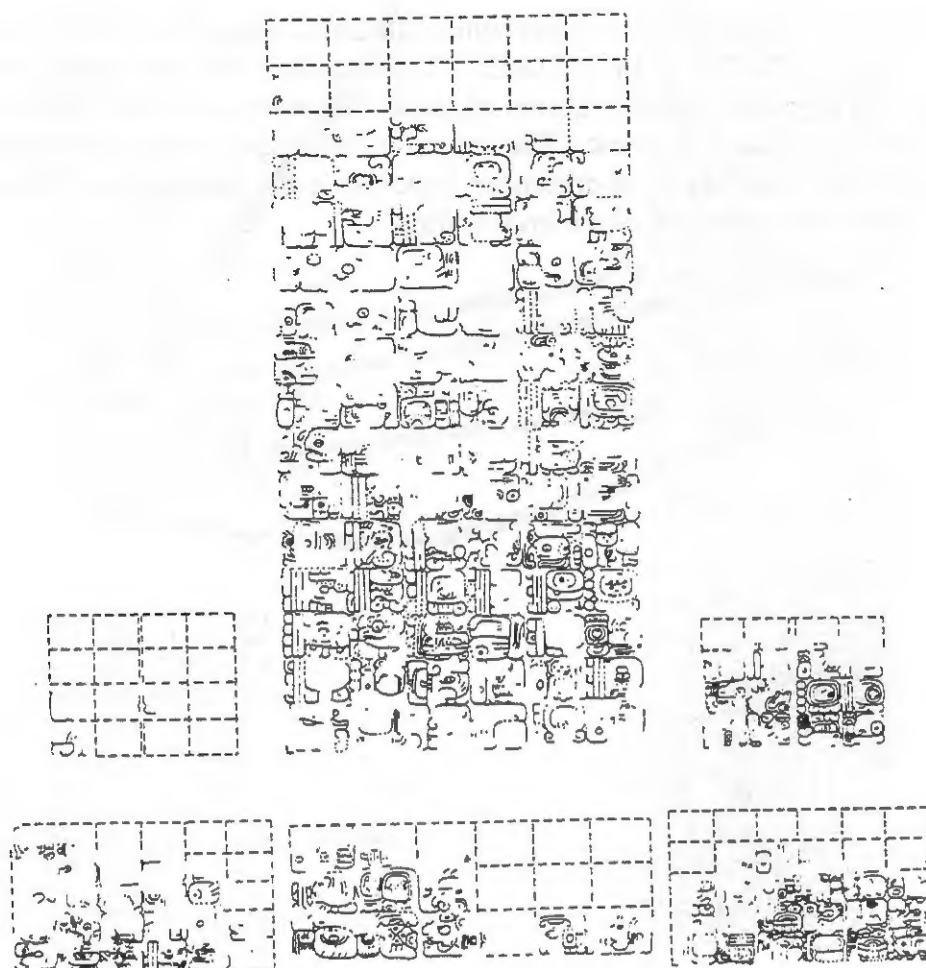
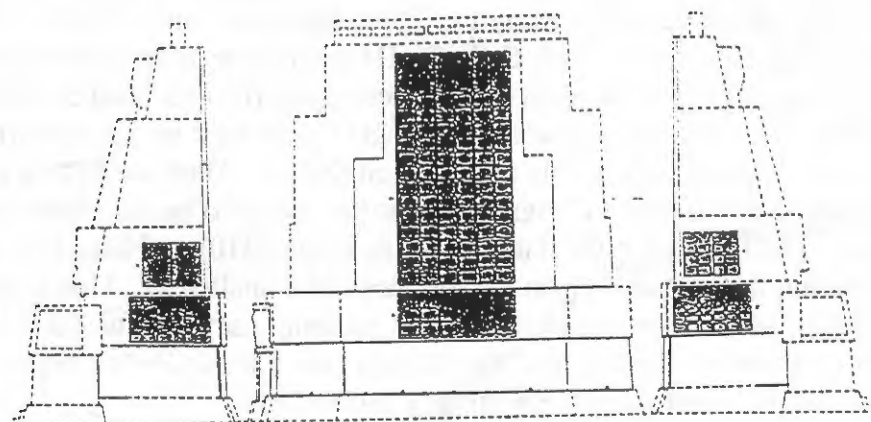


Figure 3. Tikal, Temple of the Inscriptions Facade Text (Drawing by William Coe).



It is interesting that on Tikal, Stela 5 (Fig.4) in this passage here, we have the exact same event recorded that mirrors this very early passage on the middle panel of the Temple of the Inscriptions text.

(Nikolai) Although the Temple of the Inscription text is really badly eroded I think you can still see the number 8 recorded here followed by the “*ti*-vulture head” here (B12). This is also written here (A4) on this passage from Tikal, Stela 5. Here (A11) in front of the number 8 is a strange hieroglyph that seems to be equivalent to this hieroglyph (B4) on Stela 5. Here we have a number written with 2 bars and probably 4 dots (B11) followed by a personified version of the *te* sign. This glyph corresponds to this one (B3) on Stela 5. Here we have a title that appears to be written with a small “bread” sign and so it too seems to be the same sign recorded here on Stela 5 (A3). Here is the Tikal emblem glyph (B10) and here it is on Stela 5 (B2). The glyph preceding the emblem glyph is a bit more of a challenge. This glyph is probably the name of what the Maya considered to be a contemporary lord of Tikal (A10). One of the key things to remember here is that the Maya of the Classic Period believe that as early as 5.0.0.0.0 or 1142 BC, that there were already divine kings.

The Temple of the Inscriptions text continues with a distance number (A13-B14) that leads to a new date recorded as 11 *Kib* (A15) 14 *Sak* (B15). Unfortunately, the verb and everything else is gone. This distance number jumps a period of some 700 years and so this new event, now eroded, is 700 years after the first event. The second event seems to be a very specific historical event that must have been of enormous importance for the people of Tikal while the first event was simply a celebration of a *k'atun* ending.

# Temple of the Inscription

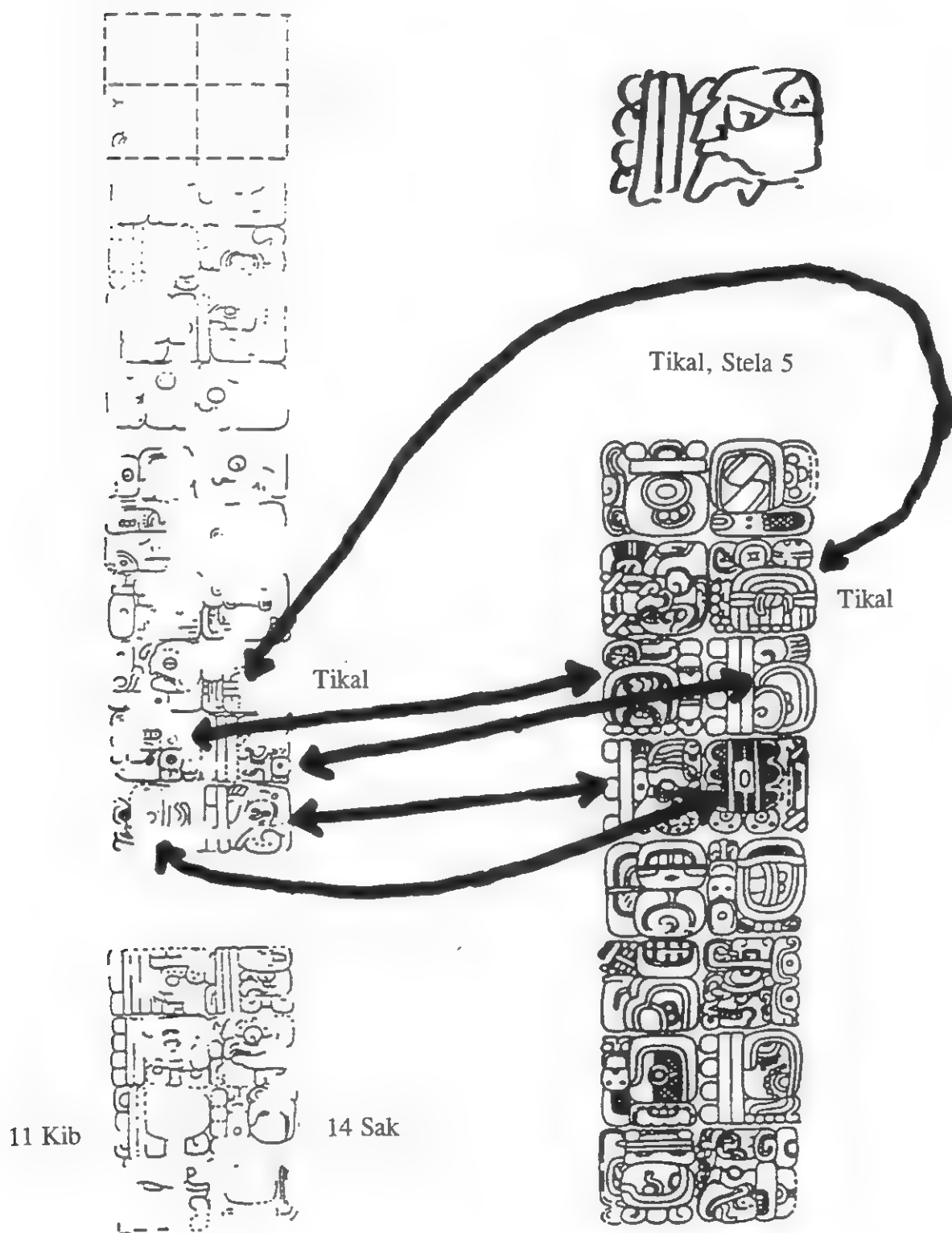


Figure 4. The Similarities Between Tikal, Temple of the Inscriptions, Middle Panel and Tikal, Stela 5 (Drawings by William Coe).

I'm not too sure that we can say much more about the remaining text except that 2 other dates are recorded here and here (Fig.5). (Simon) Just as a point of information, the dates given here are the traditional dates that Chris Jones worked out. However, these dates are still problematic. One of the things I would like to point out is that in the photographs you can see elements that are not drawn here in the line-drawing of the text. For instance, there is a ruler's name attached to a Period Ending 9.4.0.0.0: that is, if the date is correct. This name looks like this (Fig.6). The first glyph has a half darkened cross-hatched sign which appears to be some sort of verb that is attached to "darkness" or "events occurring at night." Underneath this sign is a "sky" sign followed by a *xok* head and following this glyph is one that reads *K'awil*. The similarity of this name to Ruler B, who was a Late Classic ruler, would seem to indicate a problem with the chronology. What happens here, is that the text leaps up to the Late Classic to the person we believe commissioned this monument and this would seem to make far more sense. Again, the problem here is interpreting why the *xok* sign is recorded there.

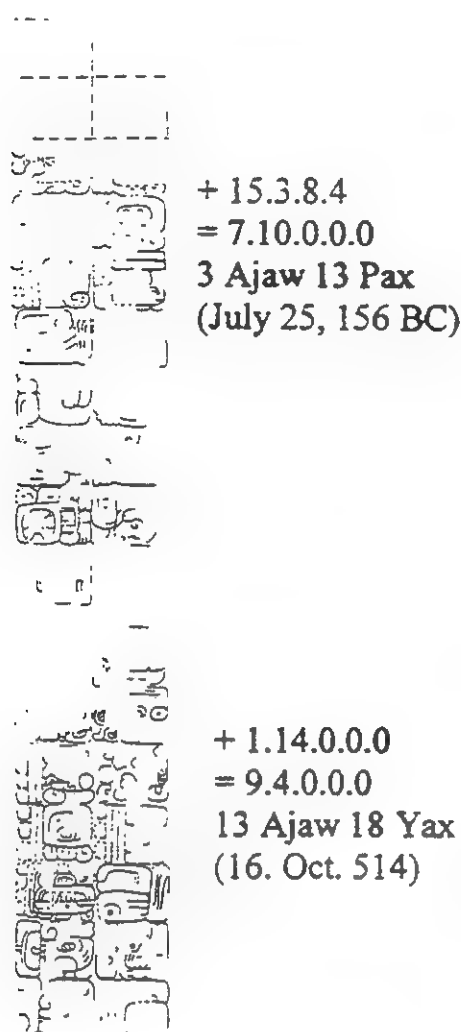


Figure 5. Tikal, Temple of the Inscriptions  
(Drawing by William Coe)



Figure 6. Historical Name recorded for the  
9.4.0.0.0 Period Ending (Drawing by  
Simon Martin)

(Nikolai) Well, Tikal is not the only place where we find incredibly early dates. Another such place is Copan. There are several monuments at Copan that have hieroglyphic inscriptions that are older or more ancient than the earliest texts that have been uncovered in the Acropolis. These texts are retrospective in nature and they talk about the liminal period between the creation of the universe and the first contemporary inscriptions. Here we have an example of an early date from Altar I' at Copan (Fig.7). This is a small table-like altar in the West Court, which is south of Temple 11. The altar records an enormous distance number of 0 *k'ins*, 3 *winals* (A1), 16 *tuns* (B1), 10 *k'atuns* (A2), and 2 *bak'tuns* (B2). This distance number is counted from 9 *Ajaw* (D1) 13 *Kumk'u* (C2) and it leads to *i-utiy* (D2) "and then it happens" the day 9 *Ajaw* (E1) 18 *Sotz'* (F1). The 9 *Ajaw* 18 *Sotz'* date is the contemporary date that corresponds to 9.12.10.0.0. Thus, the distance number connects the contemporary date with the previous date. The early Calendar Round date is 7.1.13.15.0 and it corresponds in our calendar to Oct.14, 321 BC. This date corresponds to what archaeologists would call the Late Preclassic Period. Unfortunately, the people of Copan do not tell us what happened at this early date. Some how this date was understood by everyone as being the date of an incredibly important event. There are no other texts at Copan that help us understand what was going on there. There are 2 possibilities: either the people of Copan invented this event retrospectively or they did have a historical memory, perhaps in their codices, of this important event.

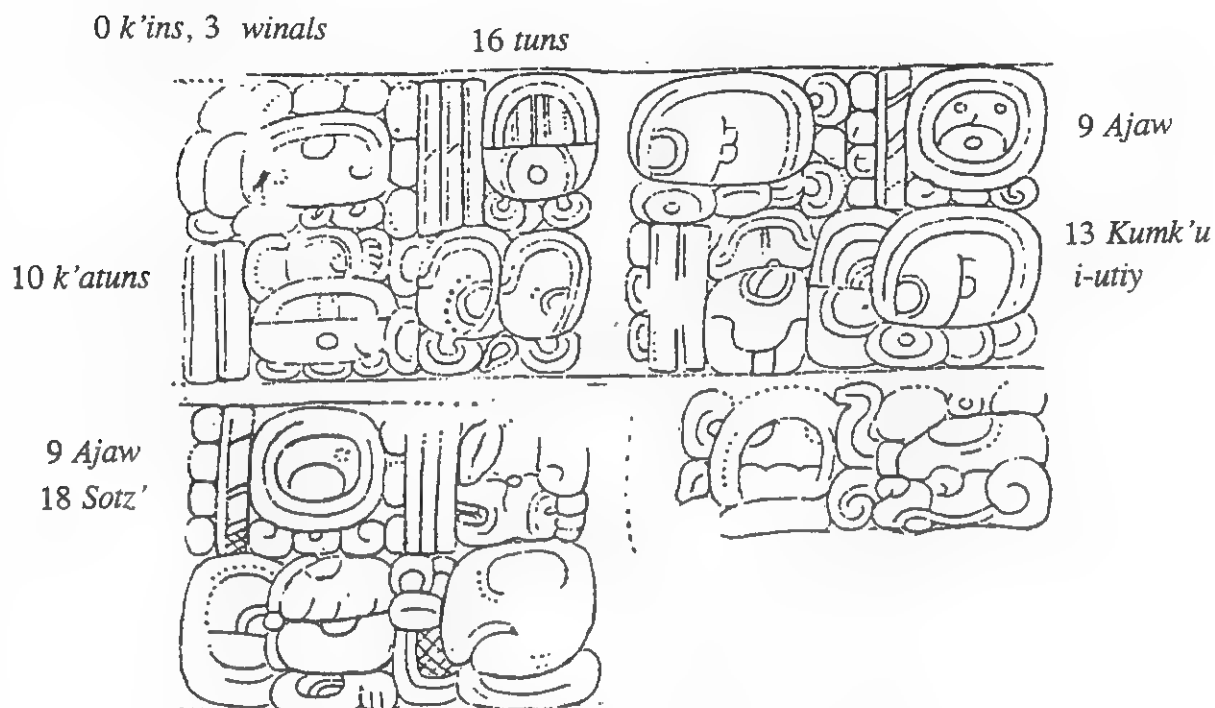


Figure 7. Copan, Altar I' (Drawing by Barbara Fash).

(Simon) The next inscription that we will talk about is Copan, Stela 17 and it is one that Nikolai and I have disagreements about which I will explain (Fig.8). As you can see, we have a monument that is broken and partial. You can also see that this monument does not contain a full Long Count date. This makes it problematic in reconstructing the actual date. What we seem to have recorded here is the number 8 (A2) followed by a 6 (B2). As Nikolai is about to explain this is a tremendously important juncture at Copan and it is certainly talked about on other monuments. In this particular case, the monument may not be a reference to the date 8.6.0.0.0. The reason for that may be the Patron of the Month in the Initial Series Introductory Glyph (A1-B1). The month name that would correspond with the 8.6.0.0.0. Long Count date would be Ch'en. If correct, we would expect to see the "moon" sign as the Patron of the Month. However, in this particular case we do not see the "moon" sign. Instead, we see a glyph that represents the "jaws of the Underworld" or the Wayeb' sign. This sign was probably derived from centipede iconography. What we find is that this glyph shows up in Thompson's list in error. Thus, in this case, I think we have a monument that dates to 9.6.0.0.0 which takes us to the reign of Moon Jaguar. Therefore, this text needs to be removed from our list of examples. (Nikolai) I kindly agree.

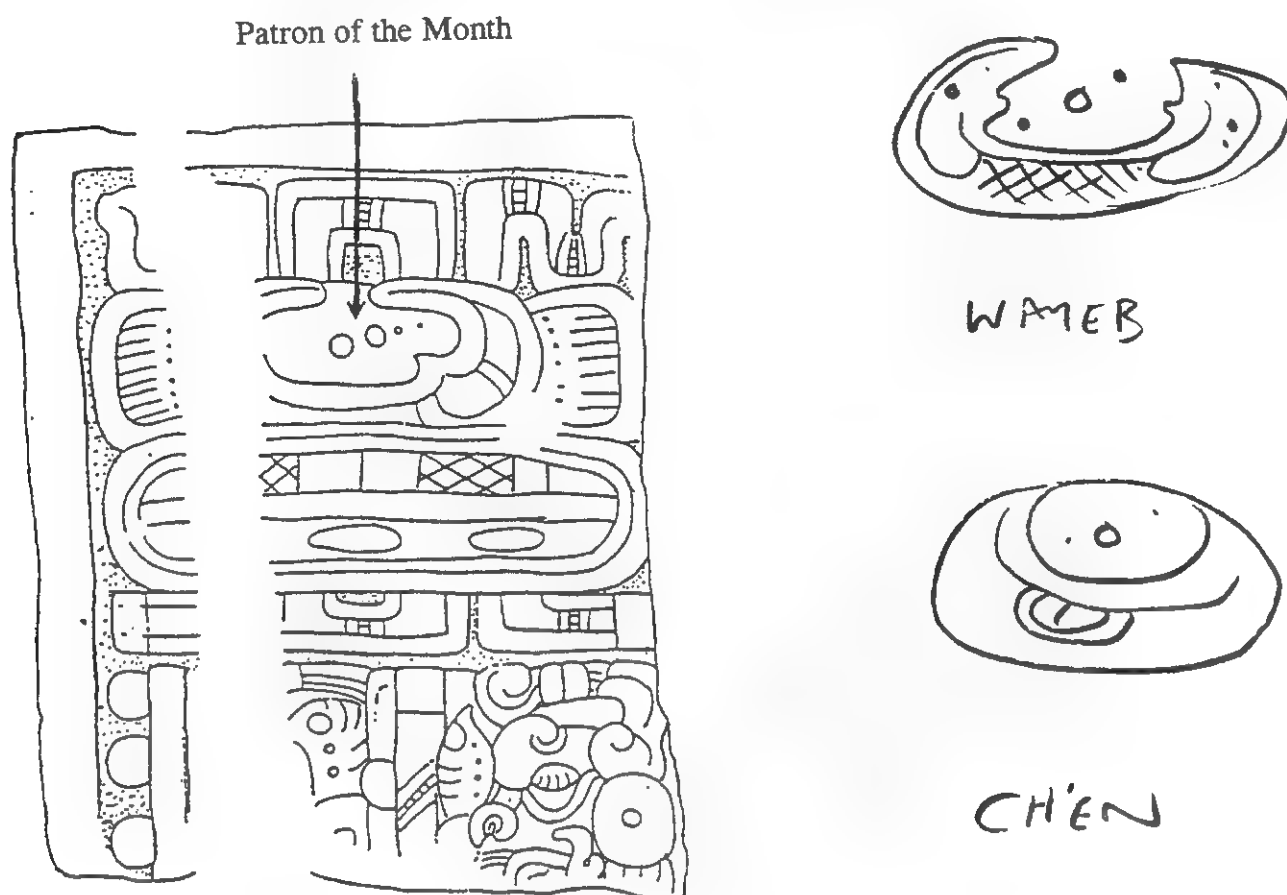


Figure 8. Copan, Stela 17 (Drawing by Barbara Fash).

(Nikolai) Let's look at the next monument where we can see a little bit more of what was going on there at Copan during the Preclassic Period. This is Copan, Stela 4 (Fig.9). This is a beautiful 3-dimensional monument and it stands in the Great Plaza at Copan. The monument was commissioned by *Waxaklajuun Ub'aah K'awiil* and he is the one portrayed on its front face. If I recall, from the archaeological report, there was a cache found under the stela that contained a potbelly figure that was not of local origin. Potbelly figures are a phenomena or a trademark of the Late Preclassic Period in the Guatemalan Highlands and also at Tikal. These are typical Late Preclassic figures and they are called potbellies because they look like someone with a big stomach.

The portrait on the front of the stela depicts *Waxaklajuun U'baah K'awiil*, the king, who appears to be dressed for some kind of sacrifice. Some of the elements of the iconography appear to be indicators of someone who is in sacrificial dress. The backside of the stela contains a hieroglyphic inscription that is framed by the quetzal feathers of the king's headdress. The text is incredibly unusual. It begins with a Distance Number Introductory Glyph (A1) and this hieroglyph is one that usually appears after a Long Count date to introduce a distance number that connects a first date with a second date. However, in this case, it stands here almost as an Initial Series Introductory marker that normally appears in the first position of a Long Count date. We will say more about this glyph later. The Initial Series Introductory Glyph, located here (B1) probably reads *tzik haab'* meaning the "count of the years." The text continues here with the *bak'tun* glyph (A2); however, the coefficient is now missing. The *k'atun* does have a coefficient and it is 6 (second half of A2). The number looks like it should be 8, but the other 2 dots, to the left and to the right, are space fillers. Thus, recorded here is 6 *k'atuns*. The next part of the text is broken (first half of B2), but here we have *uti-ya* "and then it happened" (second half of B2) which is also a feature of distance numbers that introduce a Calendar Round date. This was a Calendar Round here (A3). We can recognize it here because it begins with a Day Sign cartouche and it would have been followed by the *Haab'* date. The day is clearly written as 10 *Ajaw* and when in a combination that features 6 *k'atuns*, the only possibility you can get is the date 8.6.0.0.0 10 *Ajaw* 13 *Ch'en*.

Following the date is the verb and so recorded here (first part of B3) is a verb that consists of a deer bundle with an offering poking out of the top of it. Following this glyph is the name of a place that is called the "4 Sky Place" or *Kan Te Chan* (second part of B3). This location is also mentioned in a couple of other texts from Copan, but it is still a very mysterious verb. Following this glyph is another partially eroded glyph (first half of A4) and as usual the most important information is lost. The text goes on to say that something was taken; notice the hand here (Second half of A4). Behind this hand, you can just make out a small affix that contains 2 lines. This is a syllabic sign for the syllable *xa* and in Classic Maya, the language of the hieroglyphs, *xa* was the word for "also" and so, "it was also taken." Therefore, it would appear that the text probably recorded a list of events that were occurring on this date. The object that was taken probably was described in the lower part of this hieroglyph and it appears to have been recorded with an *ajaw* head followed by a *ki* suffix. This was probably the sign for "flower" and so, "something with flowers was taken." Here (first half of B4) you can see the hand sign again with an *ajaw* sign in it and together this is the word for "to take" *ch'am*. Notice that there is room under this hand and so perhaps another *xa* sign was also recorded here indicating that "it was also taken." Here we have the glyph for "black"



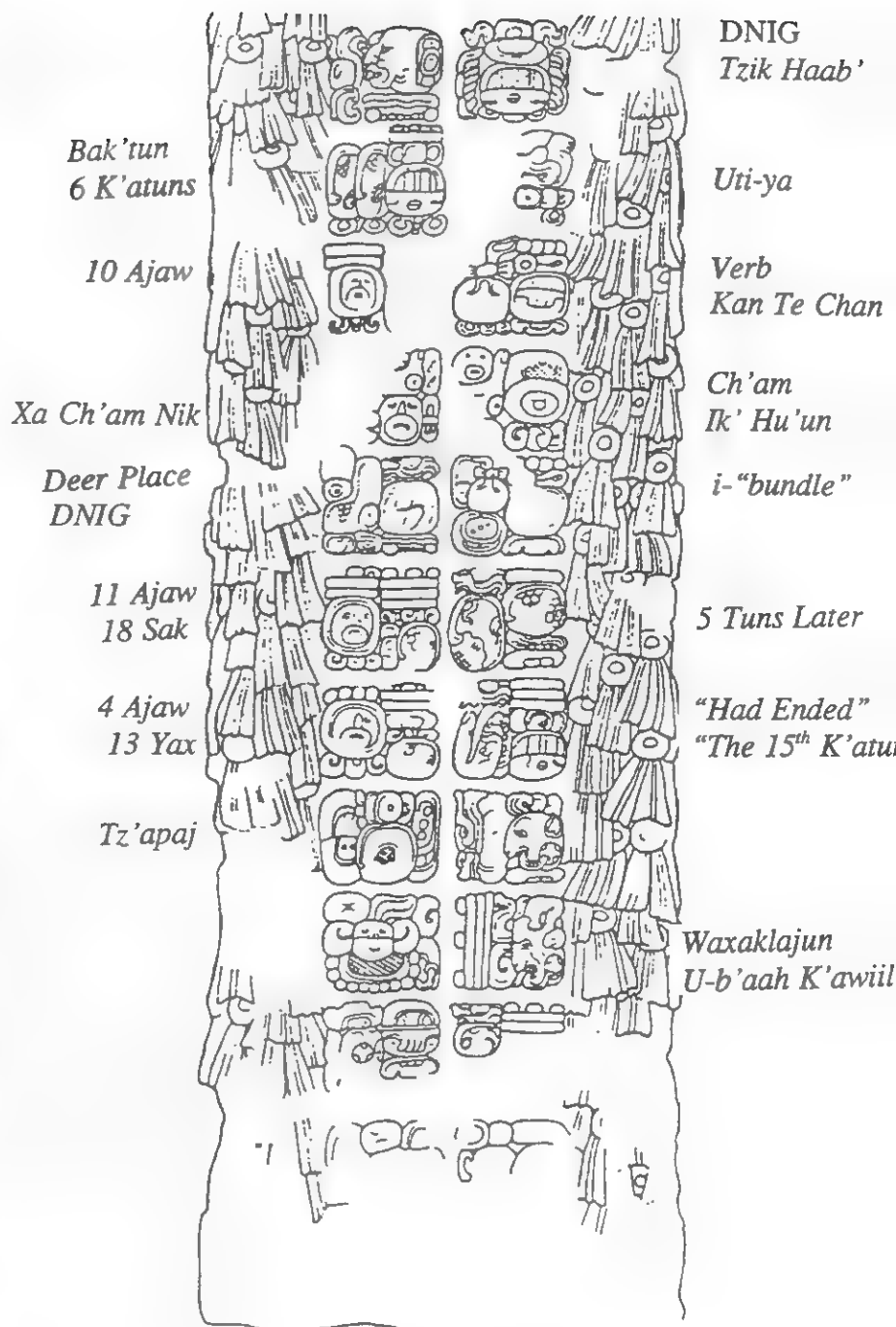
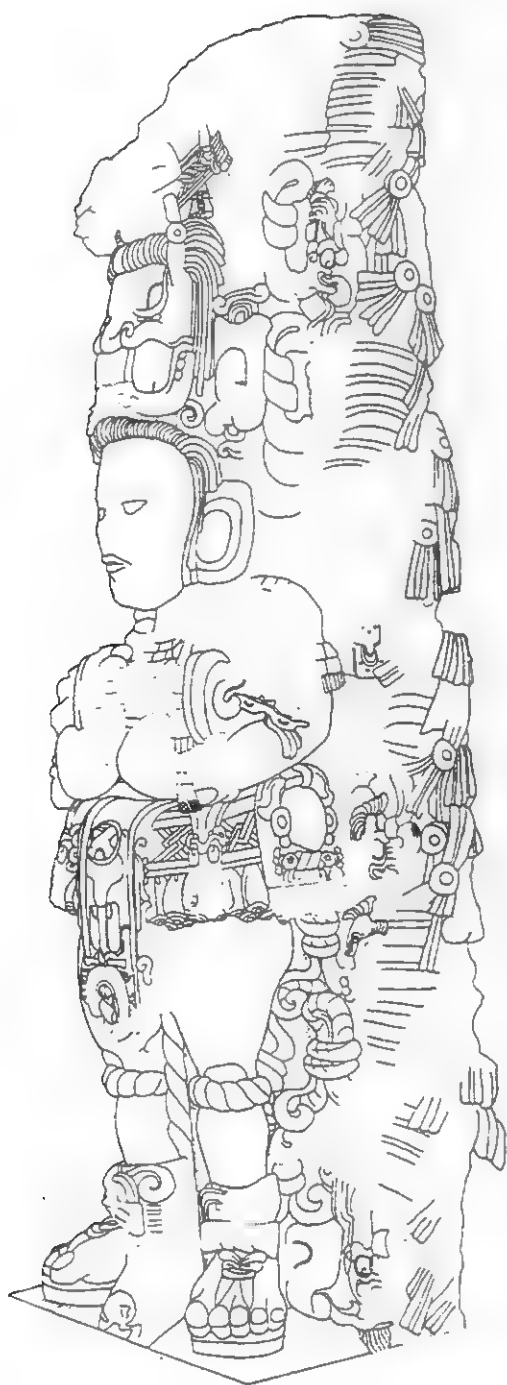


Figure 9. Copan Stela 4 (Drawing by Barbara Fash).

read *ik'* followed by a glyph that reads *hu'un* meaning "bundle" (B4). Thus, "it was also taken, the black bundle." What follows is a place name (first half of A5). Consisting of a bent *kawak* sign and 2 smaller *kawak* signs, this glyph records the name of a very important place. Here you can see an example of the bent *kawak* sign with a *chi* hand over the top (Fig.10). The *kawak* sign is usually a logographic sign indicating a "stone" or a "stone place" perhaps a mountain or an altar. Therefore, the text seems to describe a "stone-place" and the *chi* hand may refer to what Simon has drawn here: a deer head. This may have been a "Deer-Place" because the Maya word for "deer" is *chi*. (Simon) This could also be a "Deer Mountain" because the glyph itself looks very much like a mountain glyph. However, in its abbreviated form, as a way of conflation, the Maya could also write it like this polity name of *Hix Witz*. The extra *kawak* sign located below the bent sign, makes this a different sign. The pedestals change the meaning of the glyph and it may refer to this as a "stone-throne" rather than a "stone-place." Actually, this glyph should be read as "Deer Stone-Throne." (Nikolai) The second sign below the bent *kawak* sign is a small *aj* syllable. (Simon) *Aj* is a locative of some kind and may stand alone like in the location known as *Yaxha* that would normally refer to "water", but it seems to be a part of a broad category of place names that are also just called *aj*. (Nikolai) Right!

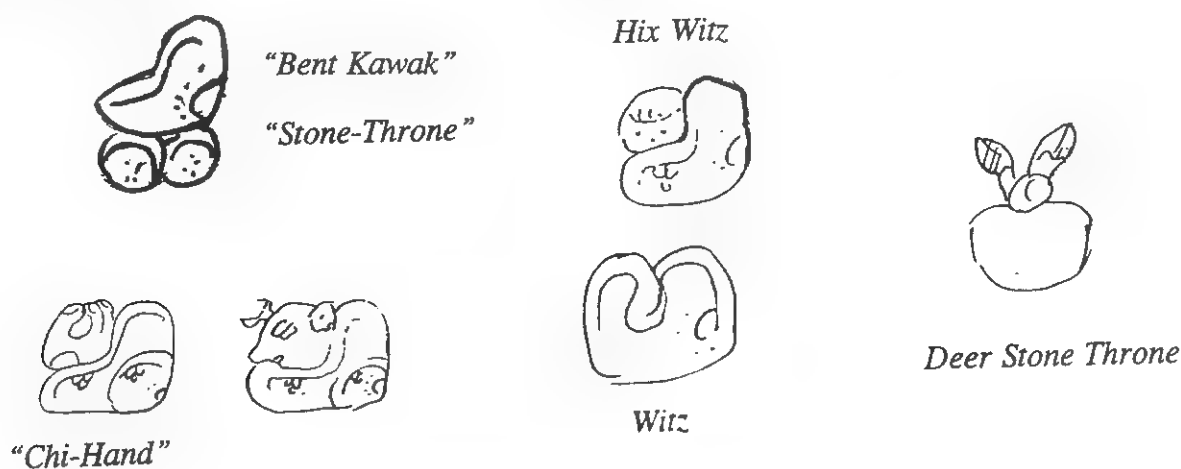


Figure 10. The Bent *Kawak* Glyph (Drawings by Simon Martin).

The text continues with a Distance Number Introductory Glyph (second half of A5) followed by *i* meaning "and then" followed by a bundle sign again (B5). This is probably followed by another description of what the bundle contained or where this was bundled. Then we come to a historical date. The first date was a retrospective date and the next date (A6) is a historical date (11 *Ajaw* 18 *Sak*) that corresponds to the *k'atun* ending 9.14.15.0.0. This is followed by a glyph that states it "was 5 *tuns* later" (B6) which corresponds to 9.15.0.0.0 4 *Ajaw* 13 *Yax* (A7). This is followed by a glyph that states "it had ended, the 15<sup>th</sup> *k'atun*" (B7). The rest of the text describes the erection of the monument, the name of the monument, and the name of the person who commissioned it (*Waxaklajuun U'baah K'awiil*) (B9). Therefore, the king of Copan connects himself to an event that took place on 8.6.0.0.0 and probably when he erected this stela, he ordered the placement of the potbelly figure.

Well this is not the only monument that talks about the 8.6.0.0.0 event. On Copan Stela I, which is standing in a niche along the eastside of the Great Plaza, we have a reference to this same date, to this same event, and to this same Deer-Throne Place (Fig.11). This monument was commissioned earlier by the father of *Waxaklajuun U'baah K'awiil*: Smoke Imix, the 12<sup>th</sup> king of Copan. Smoke Imix was an extremely long-lived ruler for his texts mention that he lived into his 5<sup>th</sup> *k'atun*. The portion of the text that is interesting to us is the right side text.

The text begins with the date 10 *Ajaw* and the coefficient was written with the Death-Head variant for the number 10. The month is named as 13 *Ch'en* (C1). Thus, the Calendar Round date for this passage was 10 *Ajaw* 13 *Ch'en*. As so often recorded, the Calendar Round is followed by the Lord of the Night and Glyph F (C2). The text then continues with a glyph that states "it was completed" or "it was ended, his 6<sup>th</sup> *k'atun*" (C3). Thus, this passage records a celebration of some sort of *K'atun* Ending. However, the question here is where did this celebration take place? Here we have the *chi*-hand and underneath it is the bent *kawak* sign featuring another *kawak* below. Although depicted a bit different, it is clear that we are dealing with the same idea. This then, is a *kawak* throne or a Deer Throne (first half of C4) and it was probably the place where the ending of the *K'atun* was celebrated. This action was done, *u-kab'iiy* (second half of C4). Simon and I have spoken often about the significance of the *u-kab'iiy*. The *u-kab'iiy* glyph seems to be some sort of agency marker. It is a verb that introduces the real or true originator of a sentence.

(Simon) That means in this case, the *kab'* sign has no relationship to "earth" and it is not referring to the logogram for "earth." I think that Steve Houston is probably right that this glyph is connected to *ch'ab*, a Tzotzil root that refers to "supervising and attending fields" or simply "looking after or controlling things." (Nikolai) I think an appropriate translation would be "to look after" or simply "by." Thus, this action was done "by" and so this glyph is also used to introduce a name or the true subject of the sentence. That name is recorded here (C5) and it contains a *K'inich* title meaning "Sun-Faced" or "Heated." Below this sign is a *ya* sign.

(Simon) I need to say something quickly about this name (Fig.12). We have this *ya* prefix and at the end we have this *na* suffix. In between we have something that iconographically, very often appears in the headdresses of rulers in its zoomorphic form attached to a particular type of god. There is still a little bit of doubt as to how this glyph is to be read. However, there is some evidence to suggest that we are talking about this god here, who is most likely a certain form of the Jester God whose name was probably *Hu'un*. In this particular case, the name contains the number 3 that seems to be refer to the 3 branches or leaves that sprout from the headdress. In addition, there are some cases where there are 3 of these heads attached to various royal crowns. This is something that is extremely ancient in Maya rulership. We see this in the art of Kaminaljuyu and we also see it in the art of the Olmec. By tracing this element back, we can see that it originates back to Olmec times. Here, we have a form of an accession statement where *hu'un* is represented as a knot. In just one occurrence we have an example where this same glyph appears with the number 3 and appears to be related to this deity here. In our example (C5) the *hu'un* sign is suffixed by a *na* sign that serves as a phonetic complement. However, on the other hand we don't really understand how the *ya* sign functions in front of this sign. There also seems to be distinctions between different kinds of Jester Gods and so the Maya themselves did not see this as one single entity. What you will find if you look at a lot of Maya portraits, is that these are stacked up and there are 2,

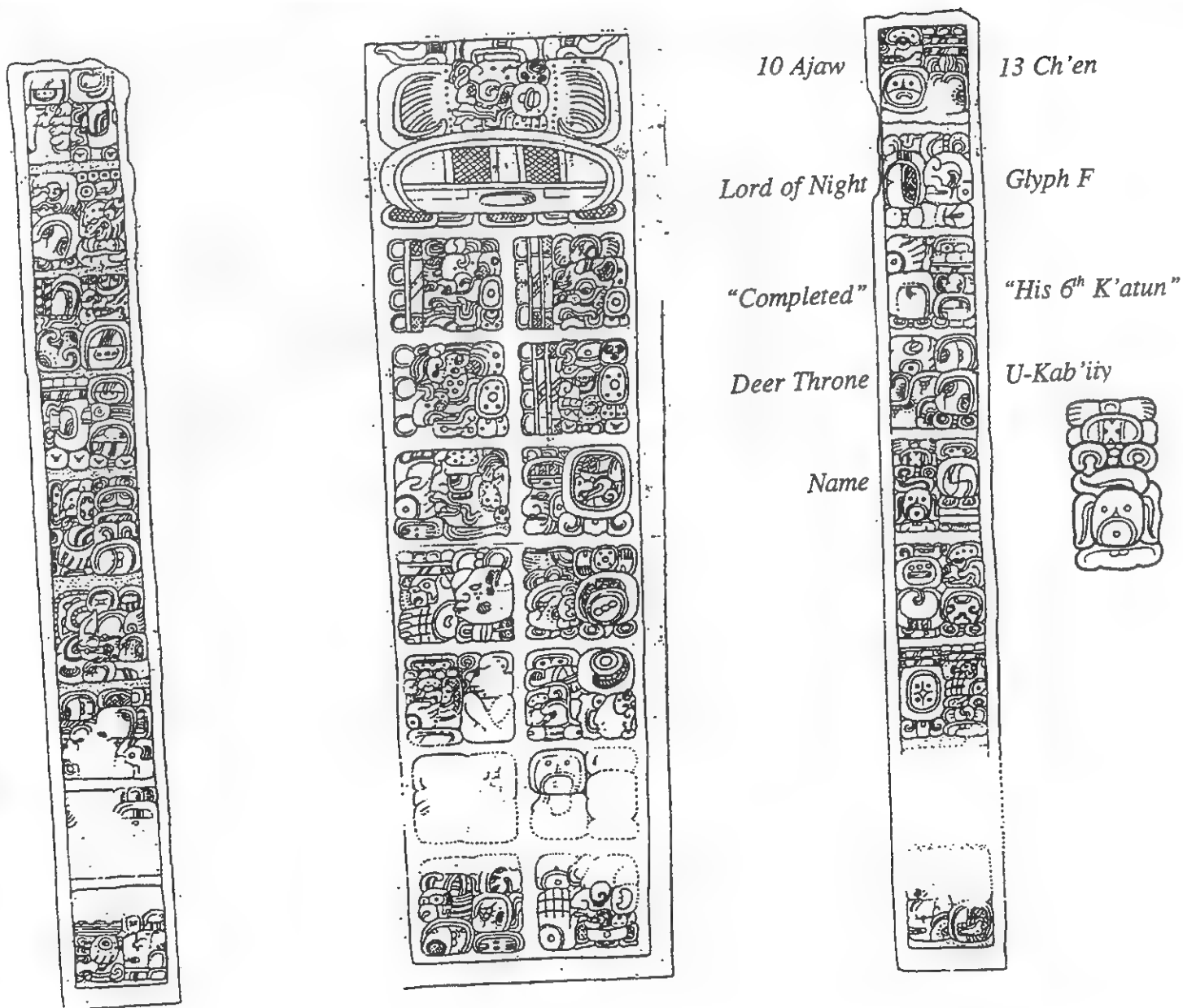
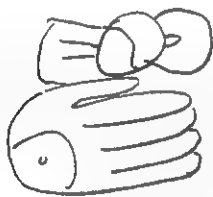


Figure 11. Copan, Stela I (Drawing by Linda Schele).



Ox Yo Hu'un



Hu'un  
"Knot"



Ox Yo Hu'un

Figure 12. Various forms of Maya Jester Gods (Drawings by Simon Martin).

possibly even more different forms of Jester Gods being worn. Thus, these forms can be distinguished iconographically. Some of these Jester Gods are conflated with sharks. Some are bird-like and interestingly enough if you compare texts that appear at Palenque with those at Quirigua and Yaxchilan, you will see that accession statements include the names of particular Jester Gods. In fact, we find the same one recorded at Yaxchilan and Quirigua where there is a depiction of a "Fiery-Shark Jester God." The point that I am getting to here is that we shouldn't think of all the Jester Gods as a single entity. This is something that has multiple variants and multiple aspects and that may be some of the complexity that the Maya are talking about here. Here in this example (Fig.13) you can see the glyph is written as *Ox-Yo-Hu'un*. There is some evidence that the *yo* functions as a numerical classifier in certain rare contexts. I used to read it that particular way, however, I have become persuaded by those people who argue that this is actually iconographic. In fact, there is no reading of the *yo* glyph here and this is really just part of these leafy appendages that emerge as part of the *hu'un* sign.



Figure 13. The *Ux Hu'un* Glyph (Drawing by Simon Martin).

(Question: Someone asks about the reading of the *yo* sign). For those of you who work with glyphs, you may be familiar with T-105, the leaf sign read *yo* (Fig.14). For example, this glyph can be found as part of the Piedras Negras emblem glyph where it functions as the syllabic sign *yo* or in other cases where it functions as a possessive pronoun. However, there are some cases where the *yo* sign itself does not work very well, particularly when the Early form of this glyph is linked with a *te* sign. In these cases it seems to be referring to the leaf in the form recorded as *yop te* because *yop* means "leaf." According to David Stuart this may simply be a contraction where the original sign was simply a *yo* logogram. However, when the Maya wanted to develop a *yo* syllable they derived it from the word *yop*.



Figure 14. The *Yo* and *Yop* Signs (Drawings by Simon Martin).

(Nikolai) Well, we shouldn't spent the entire morning discussing a name which otherwise doesn't show up anywhere else in the Maya hieroglyphic inscriptions. However, there is one more text where this name is mentioned. I am sure that we will come back to talk about the origin of the Jester God. In this particular case here on Stela I, this glyph is referring to the name of an early Copan individual (Fig.15). This appears to be a Pre-Dynastic individual who lived at Copan before the founding of the dynasty by *Yax K'uk' Mo'*. We will talk about these Founding events a little bit later. The text continues here with a Distance Number Introductory Glyph read *u-tz'akaj* (second half of C5). Following the DNIG is a distance number. In this case we begin with a beautiful sign for the number 8 representing 8 *k'ins*. Here the number 8 is infixed within a maize cartouche. They may have written it this way because the Maya associated the number 8 with the Maize God and thus, you can see maize vegetation sprouting out of the number 8. Located below the number 8 is a variant of the Day Sign that is used exclusively in distance numbers. The second half of C6 records the number 10 followed below by the *winal* glyph. This means that the distance number recorded a span of some 208 days after the preceding date. As a Calendar Round this date corresponds to 10 *Lamat* and the 1<sup>st</sup> Lord of the Night was office (C7). Well, this date could be calculated; however, I do not recall what it was at the moment. There was some event recorded here (C8), but once again, as I mentioned earlier, many times the most important part of the text is now missing. Thus, the critical information is missing and it must have been an important historical event. However, it is clear that this event occurred at a "Copan Place" (C9). Here you can see the main sign of the Copan emblem glyph (the bat head) and following this sign is a glyph that has been identified by David Stuart as *ch'een* meaning "well." *Ch'een* can also be better interpreted as a metaphor for a "sacred place." The Maya here are clearly talking about a "Copan Place" and this is evidence that by 8.6.0.0.0 Copan was already established as a place. This also corresponds to the archaeology very nicely because as we have seen yesterday, at this time (at AD159) there was probably a population in the Copan Valley. New excavations at Copan seem to confirm that there was no population in the place known as the Copan Acropolis at this time, but excavations in the adjoining region has just found evidence of a Preclassic population living in the area.

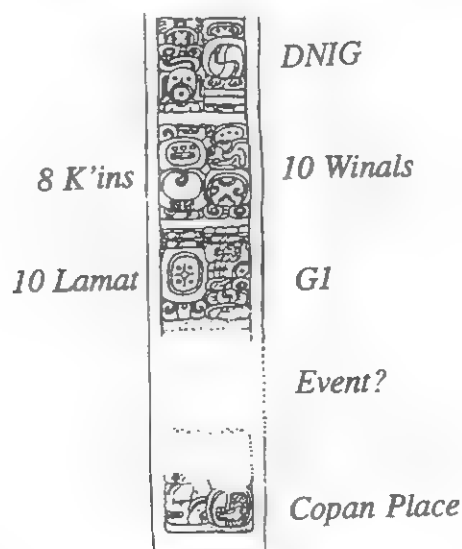


Figure 15. Copan Stela I (Drawing by Linda Schele).



The Chi-Place also shows up in many other contexts at different sites. Here is an example from Palenque to show you another place where the *Chi*-Throne has been recorded. (Simon) There are just 3 other major contexts where the *Chi*-Throne shows up. This is probably the most enigmatic of all of them. This is the inscription from the House C Hieroglyphic Stairway (Fig.17), located in the East Court of Palenque. The text is historical in nature and refers to the early life of *Pakal*. The text mentions war events that occurred before *Pakal*'s reign and during the early years of his reign. Here in the name phrase of a lord from Calakmul (D1) we find the *Chi*-Throne Place. The date is very difficult here and Floyd Lounsbury proposed the most plausible solution for the date. The date appears to be 9.8.5.13.8 6 *Lamat* 1 *Zip* or April 23, 599. Casts that were originally made by Maudslay of this text are now in London and pretty much all of the details described by Floyd does actually exist on the stone. Thus, we are fairly sure that the date recorded on this monument refers to year 599.

Here we have the "axing" of Lacanja by Palenque (C1) and so we are dealing with the "sacking" of a city. This event takes place by the hand of this character nicknamed "Sky-Witness" (See Fig.16). We know very little information about this ruler, but he must have been one of the really big players of the Early Classic. Unfortunately, we only have a few scattered references to him. This is a very problematic mention of "Sky-Witness" because he should actually be dead at this point. The purpose of looking at this text is this reference to the *Chi*-Throne. Here you can very clearly see the *chi*-hand and the bent *kawak* sign followed by 2 *kawak* signs that function as the pedestal. What is unusual is that the *Chi*-Throne is directly linked to a *Y-ajaw Te* or the "Lord of the Tree" title. This is something that a lot of epigraphers, including myself, have desperately tried to separate out as 2 people here: one being the *y-ahaw te* of another. However, it just doesn't exist. There is no extra pronoun included in either of glyphs that would make that possible. In fact, based on examples found in the lintels of Yaxchilan, that would simply be impossible.

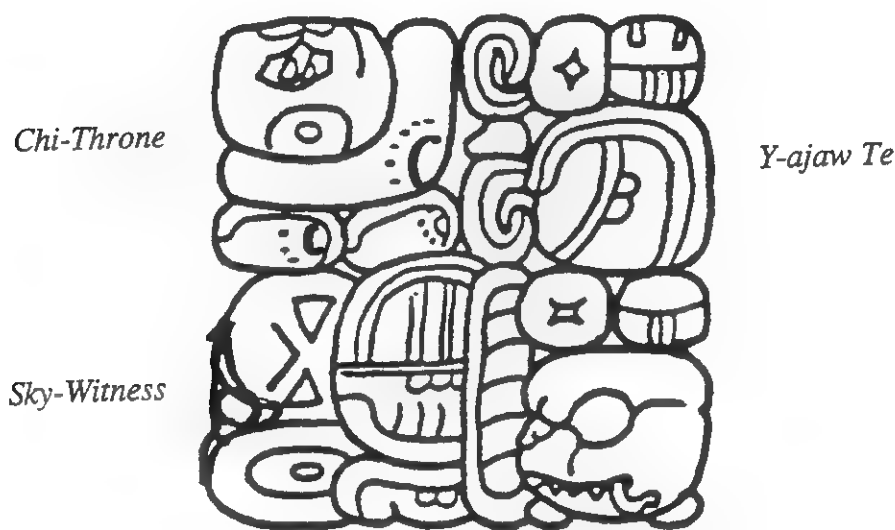


Figure 16. Detail of Palenque, House C Hieroglyphic Stairway (Drawing by Linda Schele).

*Axing of  
Lacanja*

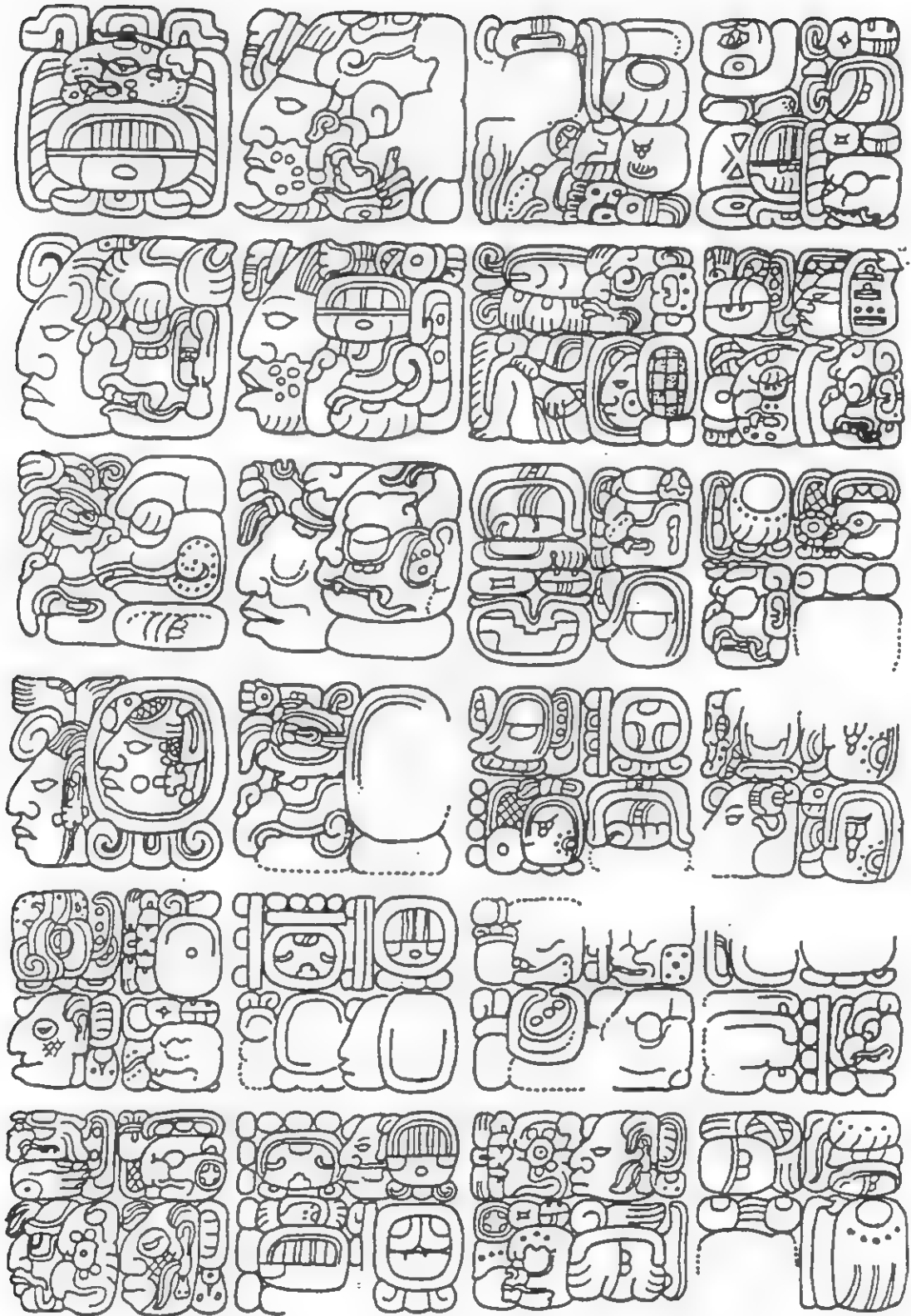


Figure 17. Palenque, House C Hieroglyphic Stairway (Drawing By Linda Schele).

We are going to come back to this text again, but I just wanted to show you this text here from Yaxchilan, Lintel 21 (Fig.18). This text shows the *chi*-hand with the throne sign and you can see that surrounding these signs are the *ya* sign, the *ajaw* sign, and the *te* sign (B2). This really proves that the *Chi-Throne* combined with *Ya-ajaw Te* simply records the name of a single entity. Aside from that case on the Palenque, House C Stairway, a problematic example, there are many other occasions where we see *Chi-Throne* Place linked to Founders. Here in this text from Yaxchilan we can see this place linked to the name of Yaxchilan's first king: *Yoaat' B'alam*. Here we have the conflation of what we used to call the "Penis Title." However, we now know that this was the name of a certain kind of Sky God who was particular associated with lightning. This sign was then combined with a profile head of a jaguar. Notice the jaguar is holding a stone as a weapon brandished by the god.



Figure 18. The Deer Place as recorded on Yaxchilan, Lintel 21 (Drawing by Ian Graham).

As far as Founders go, we can also see this Deer-Throne link to *Yax Eb' Xok*, the Founder of the Tikal dynasty (Fig.19). Here on Tikal, Stela 22, is a passage that probably does not refer to *Yax Eb' Xok*. The name here (B2) appears to be the name commonly used by Ruler C of Tikal. But nonetheless, he has a dynastic count that leads to this name here (A4). Here you can see the *chi*-hand followed by the faint outlines of the *kawak* glyph. This is then followed by the glyph for *Chaak*. It could be that this text records a title (Deer-Throne Place *Chaak*) that refers to *Yax Eb' Xok* because he is that number of kings away from the current king. Therefore, this *Chi-Throne* Place, as we have seen, appears in several early retrospective contexts including the 8.6.0.0.0 date. Unfortunately, we do not have the date for *Yax Eb' Xok*, the Founder of the Tikal dynasty, but we know that in the case of *Yoaat B'alam*, that these initial figures (The Founders) were associated with this place.

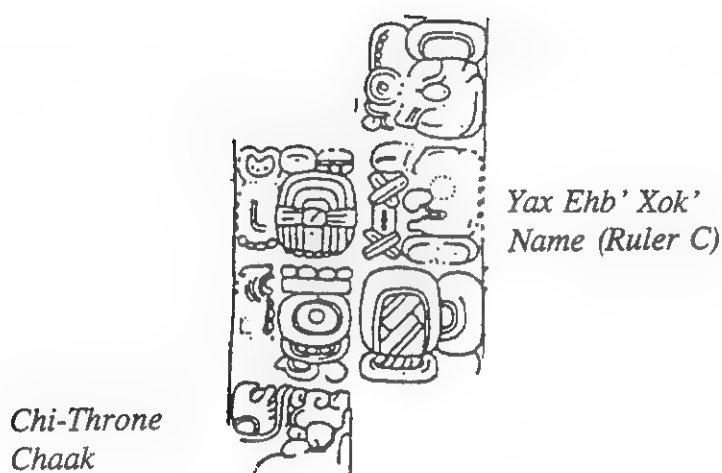


Figure 19. Tikal, Stela 22 (Drawing by William Coe).

(Nikolai) Now let's look at the backside of Tikal, Stela 31 (Fig.20). Here on the backside of Stela 31 is a passage that we unfortunately cannot date precisely. The only thing we can say is that this passage must precede the 8.14.0.0.0 date: a date celebrated by Lady *Une' B'alam*, an early Tikal princess. The text (not depicted here) begins with a 9.0.10.0.0 date and there must have been some distance number, now lost, located in the lower part of Stela 31 that connects the 9.0.10.0.0 date (the date the monument was erected) with an earlier date. This passage here is of special interest to us because it begins with a formulaic expression that is always used to introduce new sentences (B3-A4). It can be translated as something like "and now begins" or "and now for something else." The passage talks about Lady *Une' B'alam*, the 12<sup>th</sup> Queen of Tikal (B4). The text records the date here (A5) as 7 *Ajaw* which was the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> *k'atun* (B5). Since this portion of the text refers to the 8.14.0.0.0 Period Ending, the upper portion must refer to a period of time before 8.14.0.0.0. However, the precise date of this passage is unknown because we lack the distance number and the Calendar Round date. We also lack the event. The text that survives includes the name of an early Tikal king, written in the form of a jaguar head with a special headdress (A1). Here in this case, the headdress contains an *ajaw* sign from which 3 sprouts emerge. We think that this individual was an early king of Tikal because his name is followed by the *kalomte* title (B1). Whatever the event was "it happened at" *utiyy* (A2) this place (B2-A3). Both glyphs (B2-A3) appear to be toponyms. Here again as you can see we have the *chi*-hand followed by the bent *kawak* and *kawak* pedestal and so this is our Deer-Throne Place.

(Simon) For those of you who have worked on the Leiden Plaque, this glyph (B2) here is the same name that has long been recognized as being that of a Tikal ruler. However, as you can see here, the syntax just does not work that way. What we have is a ruler's name, we have his title, we have the location where the event supposedly took place, and this glyph is just part of that locative statement.

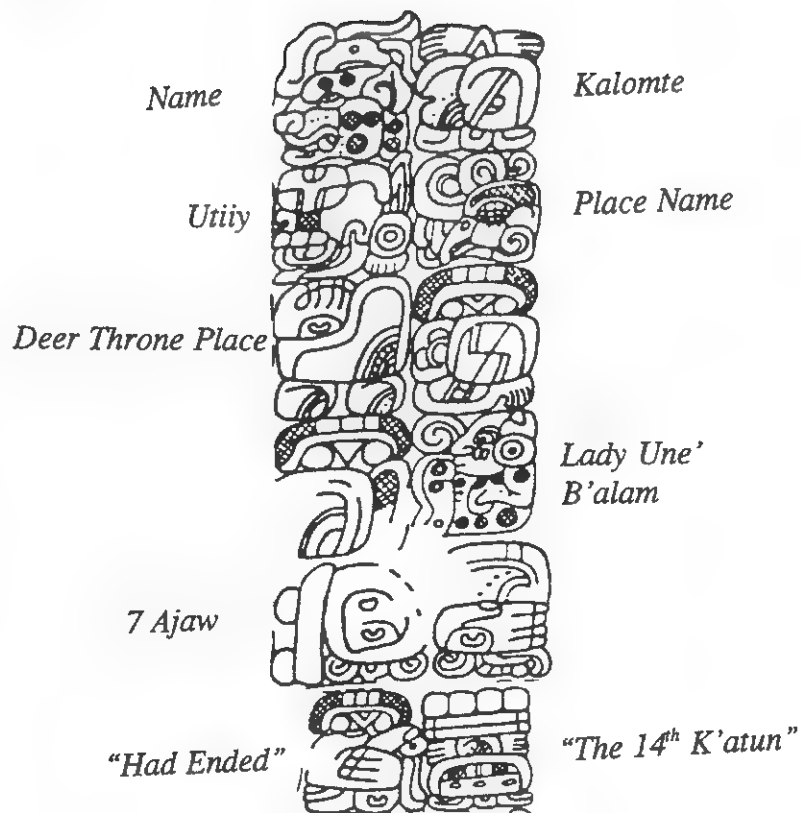


Figure 20. Tikal, Stela 31 (Drawing by John Montgomery).

(Nikolai) However, we think the name recorded here on Stela 31 (A1) was the name of a real historical Tikal king. This name also shows up on a jade celt found in Costa Rica (Fig.21). (Simon) I need to thank Dorie Reents-Budet and Virginia Fields for drawing these celts. I also need to acknowledge David Mora-Marin's work with these amazing jade celts that were carried to Costa Rica. Obviously, they were looted in antiquity or else they were traded and they ended up all the way down to Costa Rica where they were cut-up and manipulated by people who did not seem to care about the iconography or the writing. It seems that they were more interested in the jade material rather than what they really symbolized epigraphically. Most of these celts are also quite early and they seem to refer to a period where we do not have contemporary inscriptions. In this case, you really can't say anything more except for the fact that this glyph here records the same Tikal name. Here we have the early form of the *ajaw* glyph with the 3 leafs atop a feline character. I think that there is a reasonable possibility that this name is the same name that appears on Tikal Stela 31. (Nikolai) This appears to be a nametag because the first glyph on the celt refers to the object as being an *ikatz'* which means "bundle" and following the object should be the name of the owner.

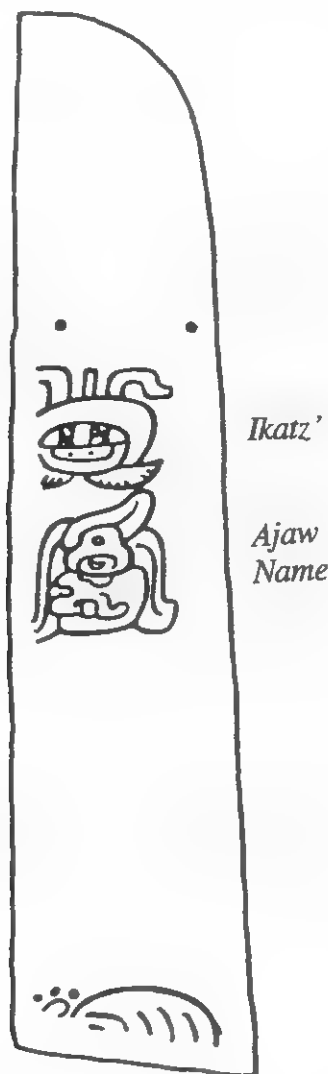


Figure 21. Costa Rica, Jade Celt with the name of an early Tikal ruler (Drawing by Dorie Reents-Budet).



(Question: Someone mentions that a polychrome vase from the Naranjo region (Kerr File No. 1398) depicts a mountain location that features a Deer Head). Linda would have now said: "Excellent!" I think that's a good idea. There is a Maya vase that shows a mountain from which sprouts a deer head. This image serves as a throne from which a mythological event takes place (Fig.22). This is perhaps one of the most famous Maya vases. The vase contains a long narrative text and features 2 scenes. The text mentions both historical and mythological events and the figural scenes depict a rabbit, the Sun God, and God L all speaking to one another about tribute.



*Deer Head*

Figure 22. Polychrome Vase depicting the Deer-Throne Place (Kerr File No. 1398).  
Break 10:35 to 10:50 AM

(Nikolai) I would like to continue our little presentation on the Deer-Throne Place. We now feel that the Deer-Throne Place is important at Copan at 8.6.0.0.0 and it is important at Tikal before 8.14.0.0.0. It is also mentioned at Yaxchilan and at Palenque, but there are other instances where this Deer-Throne is mentioned in retrospective texts that talk about events that we would classify as falling in the Preclassic Period. This is a drawing of Pusilha, Stela K (See Figures 23 and 24). Pusilha is a not-so-small place, located in the Toledo District of southern Belize. I think there are some 40 stelae at the site: many of which are now located in the British Museum. These monuments have been drawn by Christian Prager and this monument here (Stela K) is just one of many that Christian drew. The monuments of Pusilha contain many idiosyncracies and strange forms of syntax. In this particular case there is an Initial Series in the text of the stela, but the Initial Series is not where you would expect it, at the beginning of the text. Rather, it was located in the very center of the inscription. I am not going to talk about the Initial Series, although it is important because it provides information about the date when the stela was erected on 9.12.0.0.0.

As you can see, the text begins with a large distance number beginning with a *winal* glyph (A1). Here we have a *tun* glyph (B1) followed by a *k'atun* glyph (A2). When you have such a very large distance number, you can be sure that the text is referring back from a historical date to something very far back in time. Well, what was happening at this early time? Here we have *u-k'al tun* or the "binding of stone" (B2) which is a description of the event that took place at the end of a *k'atun* period. This glyph here, was probably the name of the place where the "binding of the stone" took place (A3). However, look here (B3). Who is the agent of this early event? This is the same character that we saw at Copan on Stela I. Here we have an *ajaw* glyph with the same 3 leafs and so this is the same agent of that important Period Ending. Following this glyph we get more precise information about the date upon which this event took place. The date is 10 *Ajaw* (B4) 13 *Ch'en* (A5). When you compare this date with the date recorded at Copan on Stela I, you will see that this is the same 8.6.0.0.0 date. So once again we are talking about an important event that took place in AD 159. Thus, this same 8.6.0.0.0 date was celebrated at both Copan and Pusilha. Now let's look at where this celebration took place. Here we have *u-ti'iy* "it was happening at" or "it occurred at" (B5) and here even though its eroded, you can just make out the outlines here of the *chi-hand* (B6). You don't really need a lot of imagination to see that the sign below is a bent *kawak* glyph. This again is another example of the Deer-Throne Place. Basically, we have the exact same information recorded here at Pusilha that we had recorded at Copan on Stela I. Thus, we have the same date, the same place, and the same actor recorded at both sites.

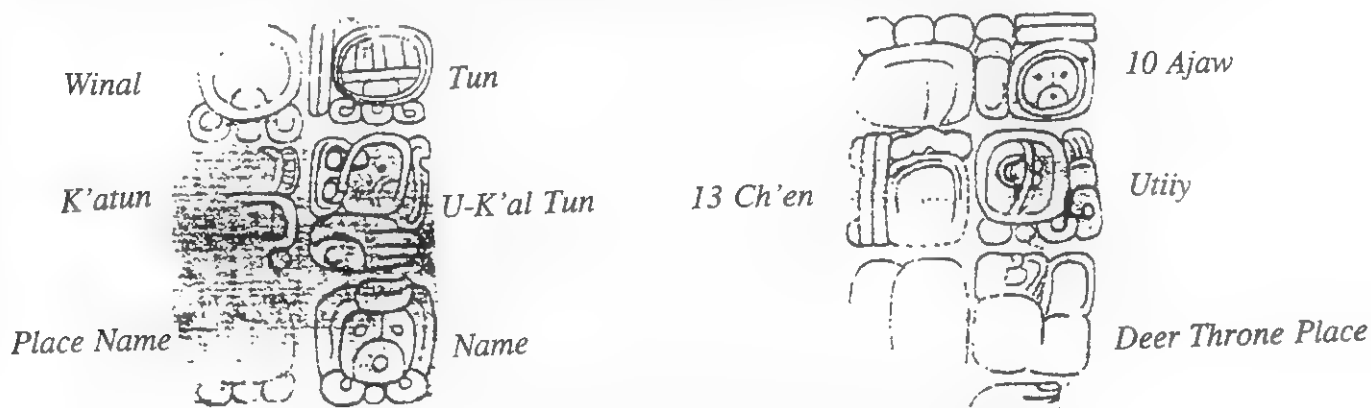


Figure 23. Pusilha, Stela K (Drawing by Christian Prager).



Figure 24. Pusilha, Stela K (Drawing by Christian Prager).

(Question: Aren't Pusilha and Copan fairly close to each other?) Well, they are indeed very close to each other. There seems to have been a relationship between Pusilha and Copan that continued well into the Late Classic Period. It is clear that the Pusilha kings are using the same names as the kings of Copan. In fact, there is a *Smoke Imix* at Pusilha and there is a

*Butz' Chan* at Pusilha. In addition, I also think there's a *Waxaklajuun U'baah* at Pusilha. So the rulers of Pusilha are copying the names of the Copan kings. The names of the Copan kings seem to have served as a role model for the smaller Pusilha polity.

Thus, as we have shown, the bent *kawak* sign seems to be the name for an object. This is Naranjo, Stela 35 (Fig.25) and here (C4) we are just talking about the bent *kawak* sign. This glyph does not contain the *chi* sign and so this is not the same Deer-Throne hieroglyph that we have been looking at. This hieroglyphic text starts out with a date recorded as 12 *Hix* (B1) something *Kumk'u* (A2). This is a mythological date and David Stuart has shown that this event is a "burning" event (B2) of a reclining god (A3-B3). I will show you this god in a moment; however, he is the Jaguar God of the Underworld. This burning is "done" *u-kab'iy* or "by the doing of" (D1) 2 gods. They are named as *Kan Te Ajaw* (C2) and *Kan Te Chaak* (D2): meaning the "4 Lords, the 4 Princes." The text continues with a demonstrative pronoun read as *ha'i* (C3) and it must be followed by a verb of unknown meaning (D3). We are not sure how to read this verb, but it must refer to something that is done to heavy stones. We know this because this event is also illustrated on polychrome ceramics (Fig.26).

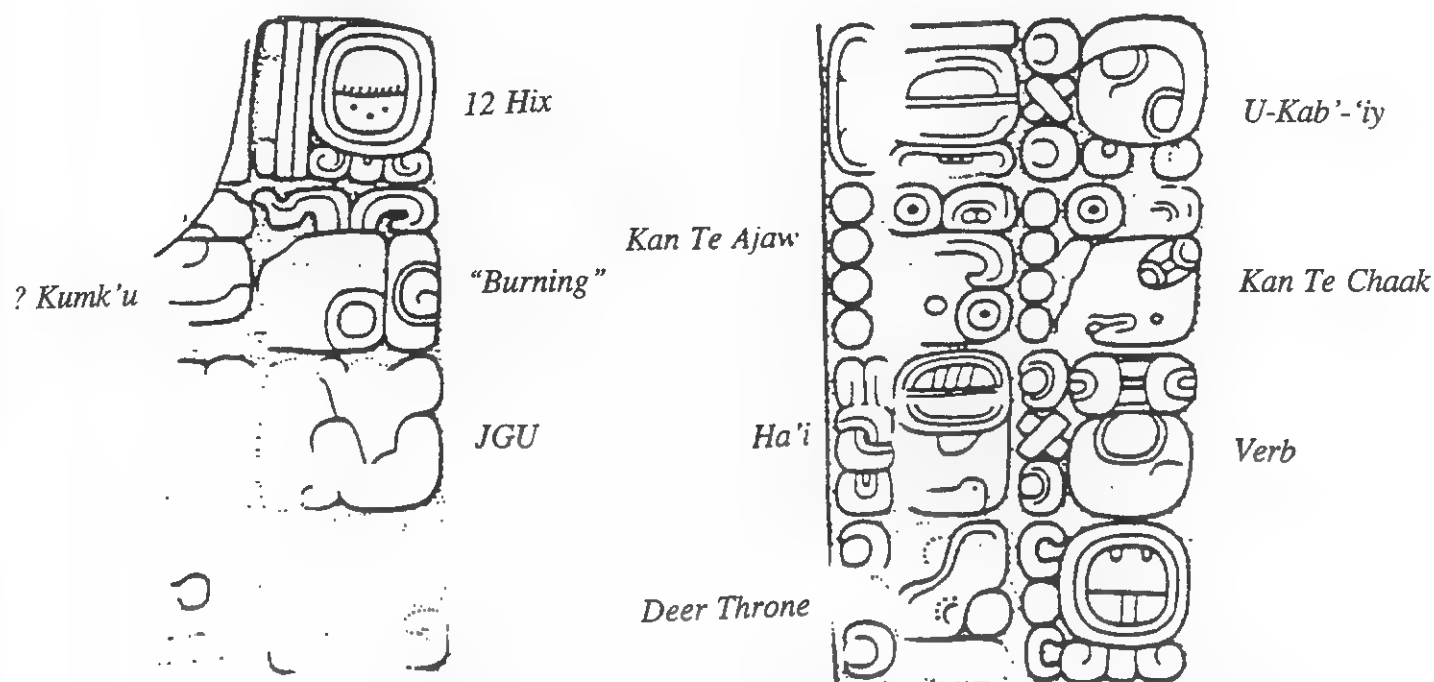


Figure 25. Naranjo, Stela 35 (Drawing by Iam Graham).

Remember, Naranjo Stela 35 talked about the burning of the Jaguar God of the Underworld. This is a literal example of that burning from a polychrome vase (Fig.26). Here we have the same burning verb (A1) followed by the same *Kan Te* (B1) *Ajaw* (C1) name. The scene below features a portrait of the lord *Kan Te Ajaw* (left figure) holding a torch in his hand. As you can plainly see, he is burning the Jaguar God of the Underworld. However, this is just one part of the episode.



*Kan Te Ajaw*



Figure 26. Detail of a Polychrome Vase Showing the Burning of the Jaguar God of the Underworld (Drawing provided by Nikolai Grube).

The second part of the episode continues on this vase (Kerr File No. 4118) with the *Kan Te Ajaw* lord throwing heavy rocks onto the Jaguar God of the Underworld (Fig.27). As you can see, these are bound rocks and the text states that "he throws the stone."



Figure 27. Rollout of Maya Vase (Kerr File No. 4118).

The text on Naranjo, Stela 35 describes both events: the burning of the Jaguar God of the Underworld and the throwing of the stones. This confirms that the bent *kawak* sign has to be a word for "stone" or "big stone."

Well, we cannot say much more about the bent-*kawak* place. I do not know what your opinion is about this Simon, but it seems as if the bent-*kawak* place must have been an important place in the Early Classic Period. It seems to have been a place where Period Endings were celebrated. We are not sure whether this was a real historical place located somewhere in the Maya Lowlands or even in the Highlands or whether this was a structure, perhaps a type of altar that was used exclusively in the mountains during the Late Preclassic Period. (Simon) I think it was Stan Guenter who suggested that this referred to Kaminlajuyu. This is an interesting idea. However, I think we can say that the location of the *Chi*-Throne Place is something that was really fundamental to the way Classic kings were conceding to the beginning of something. (Nikolai) The beginning of something, was distinctly different from the beginning of the dynasty.

(Question: What is the evidence that this is a place and not a throne?) I don't think we can say that at the moment. It maybe just a throne that was important in the Preclassic Period as a sort of Founding Throne. (Simon) Even the deer part is based on only one substitution in a very insecure context. We are relating this concept to the deer and we are looking for something that *chi* might mean in that context. However, even that is not for certain.

(Nikolai) Perhaps the new excavations at Copan will eventually help us to find the equivalent to the Deer Throne Place. (Simon) Not necessarily!

(Nikolai) Well, let's now turn our attention to the Pecarry Skull from Copan (Fig.28). This skull was found in a Late Classic burial somewhere in the vicinity of the Barrio Group I think. The central scene features a variety of Underworld animals or beings. These animals appear to be animal companion spirits. Thus, you are somehow in the Underworld, but you are looking through an *ol* portal out of the Underworld into "our" world. In our world, you can see 2 beings: one is possibly *Yax K'uk' Mo'* although we do not have really good evidence yet except for the Macaw in his headdress and the other figure is harder to figure out. The hieroglyphic text records a 1 *Ajaw* (A1) 8 *Ch'en* (B1) date which corresponds to 8.17.0.0 or October 20, 376. The text continues with the "seating of the binding of a *tun*" (A2) read as *k'al tun*. David Stuart has written an excellent article that links this idea of "stone-binding" to what you see depicted here. Depicted here is an altar and a stela. Notice that the stela is tied up. Thus, the Maya are probably talking about rituals that were taking place at the end of a 20-year period where a monument (a stela) was wrapped. (Simon) If you remember, the big rock that was thrown at the Jaguar God of the Underworld was also bound. (Nikolai) Now who was tying up the stela? Well, once again we have the *ajaw* sign here with the 3 leafs (B2). This is the same name that was associated with the 8.6.0.0 date and in this case, this is a much later date (8.17.0.0). If this was a real historical figure, we would not be dealing with one person because there are some 220 years between these 2 dates.

(Question: Are they binding the stela or are they using the ropes to erect the stela?) (Nikolai) It's the binding or the erecting of the stela. Both contexts would be referred to the same way: for instance *K'al*. *K'al* has such a variety of meaning. For example, *K'al* is the word that can



Figure 28. Copan, Carved Pecarry Skull (Drawing by Barbara Fash).

be used to refer to a type of headband. When lintels were placed in houses the Maya referred to them as *k'al* also. Writing on lintels is also called *k'al*. (Simon) In Pre-Industrial societies, the way in which the ropes work is so fundamental to the type of technology or engineering and thus basically everything that one wants to do in a practical nature involves tying rope.

(Nikolai) We are probably dealing here with 2 different Pre-Dynastic figures who carry the same name: one is the early *Nik Ajaw* at 8.6.0.0.0 mentioned at both Copan and Pusilha and the second one is mentioned at 8.17.0.0.0 on the Carved Peccary Skull. (Simon) Well, we have seen this kind of thing before because if you remember we had this *Sak Hix Mut* of Tikal and he was the agent of all those different dates that happened in the past. Thus, we have 2 different interpretations: you can either say that this is a mythological figure whom is recurring on monuments that date back over thousands of years or this is a name that is repetitive, meaning that it is something that can be used again and again. This is similar to idea of the *Kan Ek'* name that appears over and over again at sites like Noh Peten and Tayasal during the Postclassic Period. Here we have the name of a king used again and again. It could also be a title.

(Question: Kathryn Josserand: What possible construction can you get with a name after that expression? You are calling him an agent, but this is not a grammatical sentence with an agent at the end of it.) (Nikolai) Well we do have the object. This is a full transitive sentence.

(Question: But where is the pronoun?) (Simon) Well there are ones that lack pronouns and I guess they have been interpreted as a form of incorporation. (Nikolai) Could this be a passive verb? (Kathryn Josserand) Well if that glyph is following it, then it could be the object, but it can't be an agent. It could be the name of the thing that's being bound. (Nikolai) Well, I think Kathryn is making a good point here. This is an observation that is based on the suffix that I sketched as a *mi* sign. Marc Zender says that this sign may in fact be a *ja* syllable and if it is, then it could put the entire expression into a passive voice. In other words, the passage would read "is tied the stone" and in this particular case, the stone would be the subject of the sentence and we would have problems explaining what this last sign refers to. Kathryn also thinks that this may refer to an indirect object.

(Kathryn Josserand) I don't particularly know what it is, but it is not an agent. Perhaps it is the name of something besides the stone that is being bound or perhaps the name of the stone or perhaps the place where the stone was being bound. It just cannot refer to a person who is an agent here. (Nikolai) I think this is a very good point. If this is the case, it would help us explain why we get the same hieroglyph 11 *k'atuns* later. It cannot be the same person. Thus, it would help explain this text. (David Mora-Morin mentions here that this glyph may refer to the binding of the stone as well as the binding of the headband at this particular time).

(Nikolai) I trust you can see just how difficult it is interpreting these retrospective texts. To the Maya, all of the texts were clear, but all of the texts are potentially very important because they tell us what was happening at Copan during this early time.

Let's now abandon the *Chi-Throne Place* and move to Palenque. Other cities like Palenque also recorded very early retrospective history. In the case of Palenque, one could probably say that all history before *Pakal* is retrospective. Thus, much of the history referred to in the Palenque texts refers to this very early retrospective history. This is probably just an accident



history before the Acropolis excavations took place. As we now can see, there were Founders and other early kings at Copan who left archaeological marks. The same thing happened at Palenque. The earliest records at Palenque are very early. The earliest king of Palenque, as we looked at earlier from the House C texts appears to have been excluded from the real history. We tend not to think of him as a real king very often and so we excluded him from our new book because he may not have been a real king.

Here is a passage from the Temple of the Cross Inscription (Fig.29). The text begins with a very long distance number that connects with an early creation event. The distance number deals with so many *winals* (A2), 10 *tuns* (B2), 6 *k'atuns* (A3), and 3 *bak'tuns* (B3). *U-ti* "and then came the day" (A4) 9 *Ik'* (B4). This is followed by *i-siiy* "and then was born" (A5) and the name of the king who was born is described as *U-K'ix Chan* (B5). (Simon) In other examples of this name there are *na* phonetic complements that suggest that *k'ix* is not the correct reading. (Nikolai) Here we have a title that we cannot explain (A6) and following this is a conch shell and another sign (B6) with a location known as *mat* following this other sign. This is a very important place at Palenque and it was probably both a mythological and a historical place within Palenque. This king was called a "Divine Lord of Palenque" (A7). Thus, this individual was a Palenque lord and so they are speaking about kingship before the dynasty was established.

The text continues with another distance number of 13 *k'ins*, 7 *winals* (B7), 6 *tuns* (A8), and 1 *k'atun* (B8) moving forward from his birth some 22 years earlier (A9). Here is his name *U-K'ix Chan* (B9) followed by the focus marker *i* meaning "and then" and the glyph for the royal headdress (A10). The headdress was "tied" *tub'aj* "on the head of" (B10) *U-K'ix Chan* (A11). This then, is a metaphorical expression meaning "accession." The date of his accession was 11 *Kaban* (B11) 0 *Pop* (A13) which corresponds in our calendar to April 6, 966 BC. I would love to know what happened at Palenque at this time. We call this guy the "Olmec" because this text dates to a time more typical of the Olmec. Thus, we know this guy lived during the 10<sup>th</sup> century BC.



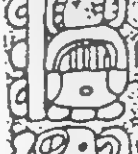








<i>? Winal</i>		<i>10 Tuns</i>
<i>6 K'atuns</i>		<i>3 Bak'tuns</i>
<i>Uti</i>		<i>9 Ik'</i>
<i>I-Si'y</i>		<i>U-K'ix Chan</i>
<i>Title</i>		<i>Mat</i>
<i>K'u Palenque Ajaw</i>		<i>13 K'ins</i> <i>7 Winal</i>
<i>6 Tuns</i>		<i>1 K'atun</i>
<i>"Since he was Born"</i>		<i>U-K'ix Chan</i>
<i>Royal Headdress</i>		<i>Tub'aj</i>
<i>U-K'ix Chan</i>		<i>11 Kaban</i>
<i>0 Pop</i>		

Figure 29. Palenque, Temple of the Cross (Drawing by Linda Schele).

There is another reference to *U-K'ix Chan* on the West Sanctuary Tablet of the Temple of the Cross (Fig.30). Portrayed on the front of this monument is *Kan B'alam*, the son of *K'inich Janaab' Pakal* the Great King of Palenque and he calls himself *u-lajun tal* (A1) "the 10<sup>th</sup> Successor." Here we have the *U-K'ix Chan's* name (E1). That means that he was probably the 10<sup>th</sup> Successor; however, the 3 intervening hieroglyphs between the Successor title and *U-K'ix Chan's* name are not understood. Here we have a glyph that reads *Yok' Te* which may mean something like "the foot of the tree." We are going to talk more about trees later. To the Maya, trees were metaphors for "families" and so, they had the same ideas that we have. Thus to the Maya, families were like trees and they were growing out of a Founder or an ancestor. The text then continues here with a glyph that reads *A'kul* perhaps a reference to "turtle houses" (C1) and then we have a glyph that is even less understood here (D1). The glyph is spelled *i-chi-something*. Unless you have an idea, I cannot translate this.

(Comment: Lloyd Anderson) Given what you just said, does it seem reasonable that this could be treated as "the 10<sup>th</sup> Dynasty since." Even though nothing was going on at Palenque at this time, if the people moved from somewhere, then this could be a real ancestor in that sense, not in the same family, but in the people's history. (Nikolai) Well, *yok' te*, at least in Colonial Yukatek Maya was used as a term for "family" and for "dynasty." So what Lloyd Anderson is saying here is that the *yok' te* might be a reference to the 10th Dynasty. This is a good possibility that we are talking about the ancestor of all ancestors or the ancestor of perhaps 10 families. This will remain speculation until we can solve the mystery of the *yok' te* hieroglyph.

(Question: Are you suggesting that there were actually 10 dynasties?) (Nikolai) Probably between *U-K'ix Chan* and the first real king of Palenque, *K'uk' B'alam* there may have been 10 dynasties or 10 families. We are talking about a long period of time here. When did *K'uk' B'alam* live? (Simon) About AD 400. (Nikolai) Thus, we have about 1,400 years between these 2 people.

The rest of the text provides the name of *K'inich Kan B'alam* (E2), the king of Palenque with all of his titles (E3-E4) and then he is called the "son of" (E5) *K'inich Janaab' Pakal* (E6) the lord of Palenque (E7).

(Peter Mathews Comments) You can see the origin of his name in his headdress. (Nikolai) Yes you can. Here is the stingray spine and the serpent head. In addition, you can also see a turtle shell at the top of his headdress. It is very common for Maya kings to wear their name in their headdress. In many cases, even if the person is not explicitly named, you can very often identify the individual by the beings carried in their headdresses. (Simon) So what it looks like to me, is that *Kan B'alam* is impersonating *U-K'ix Chan*. (Nikolai) That's right! Here we have *K'inich Kan B'alam* dressed as *U-K'ix Chan*.

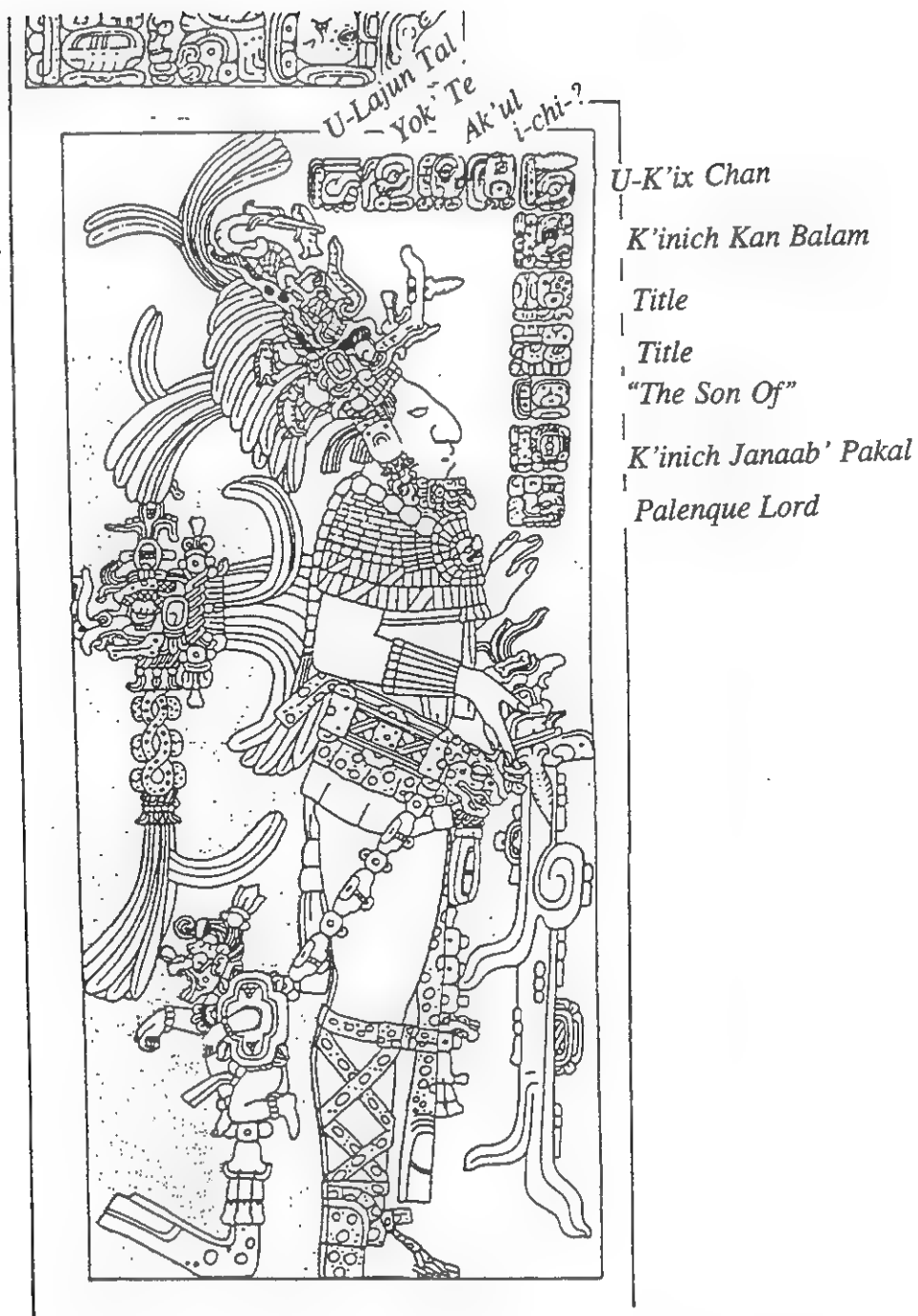


Figure 30. Palenque, West Sanctuary Tablet, Temple of the Cross (Drawing by Linda Schele).

(Simon) This is a rollout of a vase that was excavated at Uaxactun and the text seems to mention the 7.5.0.0.0 Period Ending [January 1, 245 BC] (Fig.31 and 32). However, the Calendar Round date (both the *Tzolk'in* and the *Ha'ab*) is wrong. It is also very difficult in this rollout to make out all of the specific details of the text. However, here we seem to have the *Kalomte* title and so we have argued that we are dealing with a king's name. Here we have *K'uk' Chan* and this appears to be some sort of mention to a feathered serpent-type thing that seems to be depicted on this person's back-rack. Then we have a glyph that reads *sa* and the last one here, reads *ja* and *la* for the word *sajal*. This may not be a reference to a god, but probably the name of this character as a very early *sajal* who has come to see the king. Other than that, I'm not too sure we can say anything further about the text.

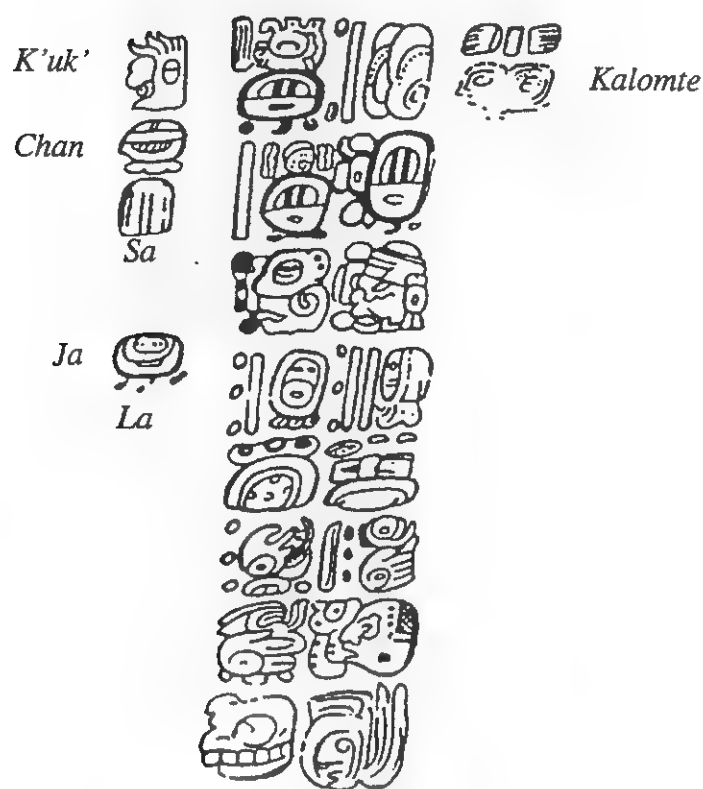


Figure 31. Detail of the Initial Series Vase, Uaxactun (Drawing by S. Morley).

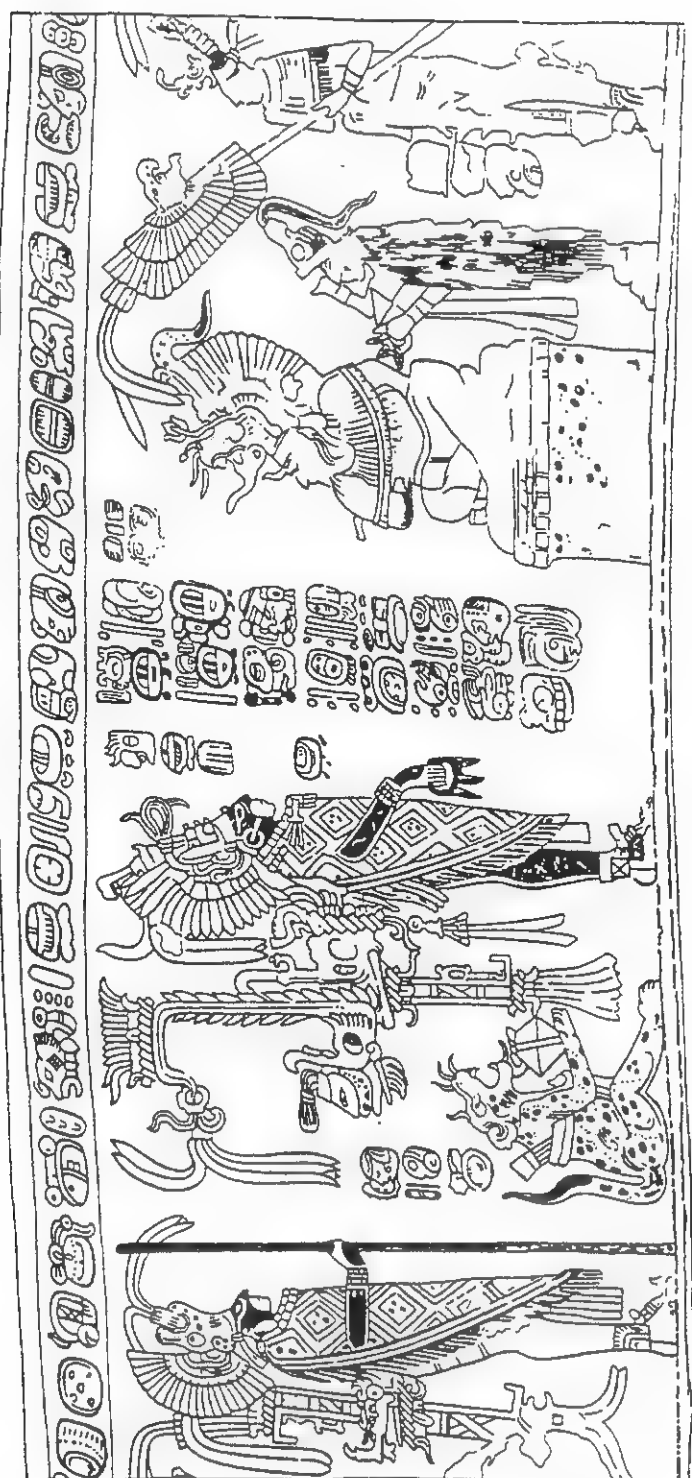


Figure 32. Initial Series Vase, Uaxactun (Drawing by S. Morley).



This is Naranjo, Altar 1 (Fig.33) which turned up in the *Popol Vuh* Museum. Notice the fine incisions here. It is really quite remarkable that this monument was preserved given the fact that this monument is a flat-top altar. Because of Peter Mathews' work, it is clear that this altar is associated with Naranjo, Stela 38 because they both recall the same Period Ending and both mention mythological and historical events. The text also records an event that occurred, I believe, some 22,000 years ago. These texts also name a character. (Nikolai)

Archaeologists working here also have evidence for human settlements during this time at Naranjo. (Simon) Although the text is very badly damaged here, we do have the name of a character that occurs at Naranjo, whom we will speak about shortly when we look at dynastic lists. This is the Founder figure (F2) of Naranjo, but he does not seem to be a historical figure in the same way that others are. He's placed further into the past and later kings refer themselves as being the 36<sup>th</sup> or 38<sup>th</sup> Successor and so he would be placed well into the past. This is also the name of a well-known god known as the Zip Monster or the Square-Nosed Beastie who normally has a hand in his mouth. Ever since the early analyses of the Dresden Codex, people started to associate this Square-Nosed character with multiples of 78 and other things that could be linked to the Mars Cycle. This figure has been generally identified as a Mars character and I think there is even more evidence for that interpretation today. Therefore, this figure does seem to be a Martian!

Although the monument is eroded here, we can still say a few things about Naranjo's early history. Here we can see a glyph that reads *wak kab' nal* (D4) meaning "6<sup>th</sup> Earth Place" and this seems to be the name of Naranjo as a place. We can also see a place called *Maxa* (C7) that turns up recorded on Late Classic vases. We do have repeating patterns of characters and ritual events that include the conjuring of gods. Unfortunately, the erosion is just too bad for us to sort out exactly what was being said here.

(Question: What about the "bent *kawak*" sign here at H2?) (Simon) Here you have the same kind of object. This seems to be a different place. What is interesting here is that this goes back to the question that Kathryn Josserand was raising about whether this was a location or whether this was an object. This glyph turns up, especially in the stucco texts of Caracol, as a place that is attacked in reference to wars against Naranjo. In that particular context, this glyph seems to refer to a specific location.

(Bruce Love's Comments) I went to great lengths to analyze the evidence of whether or not the tables of the Dresden Codex are really referring to Mars. I have picked it apart, line by line, and came to the conclusion that it was not a Mars table and so if there is new evidence that shows that it was, I would be anxious to see it.

(Simon) Okay, thanks!



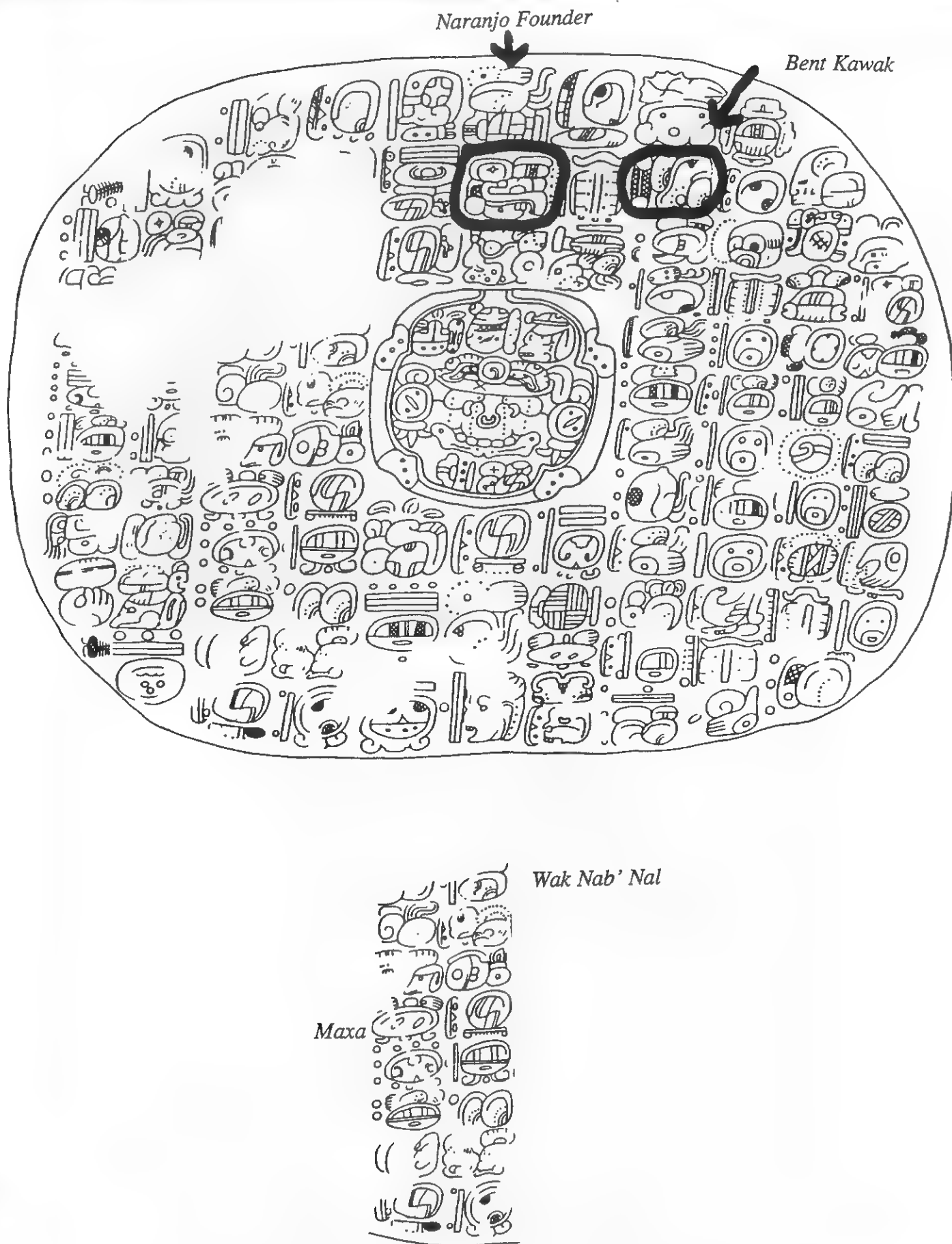


Figure 33. Naranjo, Altar 1 (Drawing by Ian Graham).

(Simon) Seeing this vase for the first time was personally one of the most exciting evenings I had ever had as an epigrapher (Figure 35). This is just one vase of a set of vases that I described in an article discussing dynastic vases for Justun Kerr's *Maya Vase Book 5*. Donald Hales was the first person to publish details of these vases in earlier publications. The current thinking about these dynastic vases is that they all contain a very formulaic structure. Thus, I looked at 11 vases that ultimately carried the exact same texts. These pots are all of slightly different sizes and the glyphs are painted in differing scales. They all begin the same way and they follow the same sequence, but they do not always reach the same end point. The small pots get to a certain level and the large pots get further on in the sequence. This, then is the intervening structure (Fig.34). Each begins with the *Tzolk'in*, the sacred day name, and then you have the *Ha'ab'* date: the month name. Following the date, you have a verb and in most cases the verb is recorded as *ch'am* meaning "to take." Infixing into the hand is the glyph for *K'awiil*. Together these glyphs form a well-known accession phrase: the "taking of the *K'awiil* Scepter." Following the verb is a personal name and the "snake-head" title read *Kan*. This then, is the pattern that we find time and time again. We are given no further or extra information in terms of when these events occurred in the Long Count. However, on this particular pot that describes up to 19 rulers, we have give or take, 400 years of people described as becoming kings of the "snake-head" polity. As many of you know, the "snake-head" polity can now firmly be linked to Calakmul when referring to Late Classic rulers. The location of "snake-head" polity for the Early Classic rulers is a bit more problematic.

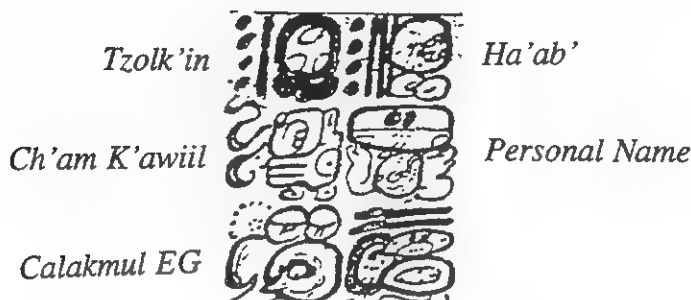


Figure 34. Detail of the Formulaic Structure of a typical Dynastic Vase (Kerr File No. 6751).

This pot really represents something else. You have to understand it a number of different ways. First, this pot is one of a set of codex-style vases that are fundamentally mythological in its narrative. These texts describe ladies, they describe gods emerging from the sky, they feature *K'awiil* turning into snakes or old guys, they also mention Bundle Gods, sacrifices, and spirit companions. However, we also have these dynastic vases that basically describe historical events. Donald Hales had a go at linking these characters to the real historical Late Classic kings. Although, you can find the names of Classic kings in these texts, Donald Hales

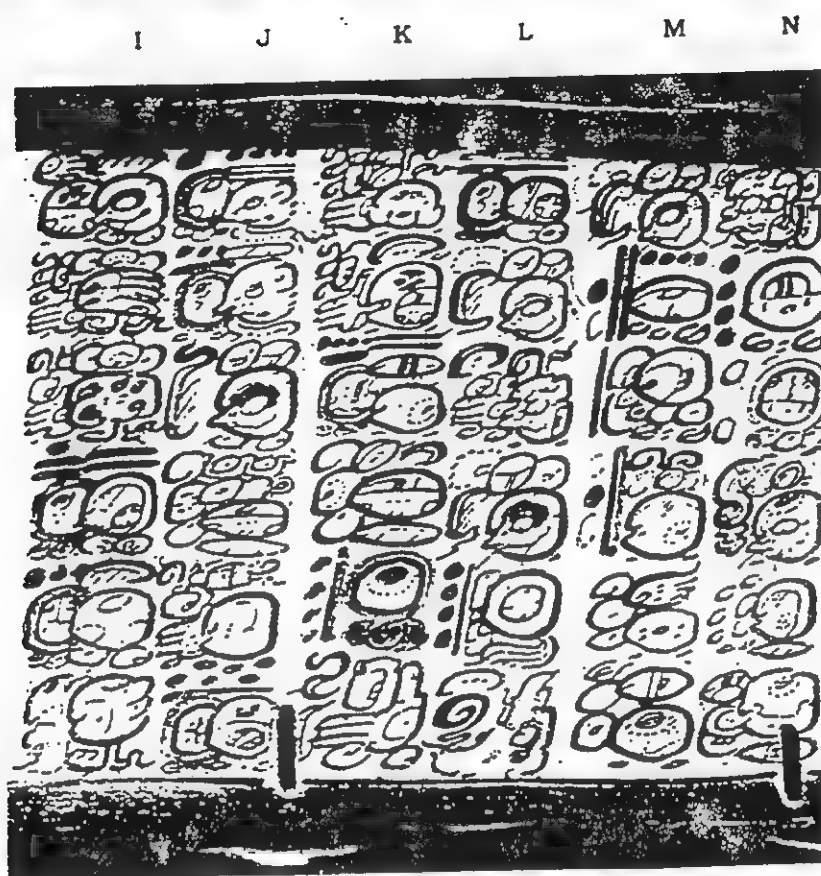
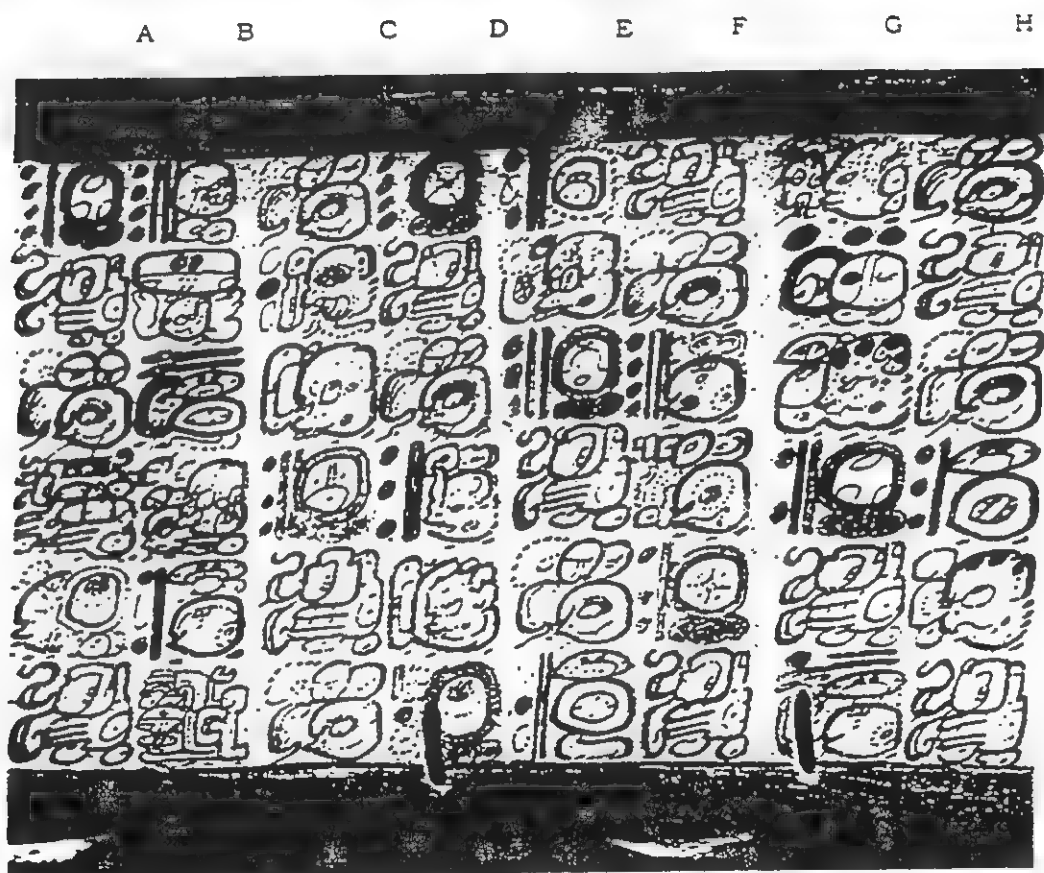


Figure 35. Dynastic Vase (Kerr File No. 6751).

unfortunately, didn't really have luck any because the vases he was looking at did not get that high up in the sequence. It wasn't as if he could say that a name was definitely *Yich'aak K'ak'* (Jaguar Paw) from the Late Classic. However, one must also consider whether the text referred to the same person. There are two major problems here. First, the dates never match. We have lots of references to the accession of *Yich'aak K'ak'* and the ones found on the dynastic pots are different. This is a layout of all these rulers (Fig.36). This glyph here is a reference to a person we nicknamed 'Scroll Serpent' (Ruler 19). His name might have been *Unen Chan*, but that is still open to debate. He also appears to have been a real ruler of Calakmul since he had a monument that recorded his early reign. However, his accession date is different. Here, we have an individual nicknamed "Sky Witness" (Ruler 17). We do not really know that much about "Sky Witness" but as you will see in a minute, he doesn't seem to fit in the right place of the sequence. Here we have *Tahom U-K'ab K'ak'* (Ruler 15) and he doesn't fit into the right sequence either. Here we have "Yukom the Great" (Ruler 10) and his name features an owl without the royal diagnostics. Therefore, in those places where we actually have names and accession dates for specific individuals who are named in Late Classic texts, their dates on these vases are wrong. In general, the list is out of order and so these dynastic vase texts cannot really fit in the Classic Period. If this records a real sequence, then it has to record an earlier sequence. This is where the idea came from that these dynastic vase texts seem to record very ancient and ancestral lists of rulers. And it is from this list, that the later kings are borrowing names from. In other words, they are namesakes of these earlier characters. If that is true, then this 400-year history must go into the Preclassic. If we look at where these pots were produced, around Nakbe and the old Preclassic centers, then we can see that these vases were produced squarely in the heartland of the Preclassic civilization. Calakmul itself, was a major Preclassic center. Structure 2 at Calakmul was enormous and was most definitely a Preclassic building. Therefore, we actually have some link to the archaeology that this was a place where these kinds of characters could have easily strut their stuff and not be out of place. Now the question of whether the Preclassic was dynastic in terms of the way we see it for the later periods is a bit more open to debate. To tie back to what Nikolai was saying earlier, during the Late Classic the Maya rulers were looking back for legitimization of their own rule by looking at these ancient figures. I think that is the most crucial point.







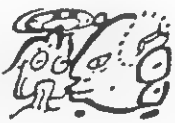













<p>RULER 1 A1-A3 ? 7 Chuwen 19 Pohp</p>		<p>RULER 3 A5-C1 ? 3 Imix 7(or 12) Yax?</p>	
<p>RULER 2 B3a-B4b TAH-CH'AM?(K'INICH) 10 Imix 10(14) Yax'in</p>		<p>RULER 5 C4-C6 CHAK-? 13 (or 7) Ahaw 8 Sotz'</p>	
<p>RULER 4 D1-D3 CHAK?-KIM/BAK 4(3) Etz'nab 1 Muwan</p>		<p>RULER 6 D6-F2 ch'a-KIM/BAK 1 Imix ? Mol</p>	
<p>RULER 8 F5-H1 CHAK?-KAY/ka-? 8 Lamat 11 Yaxk'in</p>		<p>RULER 7 E3-E5 ?-?-a-xi 3 Kib19 Ch'en</p>	
<p>RULER 10 G4-H5 YUKOM-? 12 Chuwen 8(?) Sip</p>		<p>RULER 9 G1a-H3 ?-?-BALAM/HIX 1 Muluk 2 K'ank'in</p>	
<p>RULER 12 J1a-I2b YUKOM-?-K'AK'/BUTZ' 1 Chuwen 19 Xul</p>		<p>RULER 11 G6a-I1 K'AB-?-KA'AN-ka-KAN-wa 11 Kaban 10 Yax?</p>	
<p>RULER 14 I4a-J4 YUKOM-EK'-ti- KA'AN-na 11 Kaban 10 Pohp</p>		<p>RULER 13 J2a-J3 YUKOM-YICH'AK- K'AK'/BUTZ' 8 Kaban 5 Xul</p>	
<p>RULER 16 J6a-K1b K'AK'/BUTZ'-?-? 7 Lamat 6 Wo</p>		<p>RULER 15 I5a-I6 ta-ho-ma u-K'AB- K'AK'/BUTZ' 3 Ak'bal 1? Tzek</p>	
<p>RULER 18 K3a-L4 YUKOM-?-KA'AN-na 9 Eb 10 Keh</p>		<p>RULER 17 L1a-L2 u-?[?-KA'AN]-1a 10 Kaban 10 Pohp</p>	
<p>RULER 19 K5-N1 u-? 9 Imix 9 Yaxk'in</p>		<p>RULER 19 K5-N1 u-? 9 Imix 9 Yaxk'in</p>	

Figure 36. The Sequence of Ruler as Recorded on the Dynastic Vase (Drawings by Simon Martin).



I think I should mention one other thing. Earlier I mentioned the name *Yich'aak K'ak'* which in our book we translated as "Fiery Claw." However, we actually have some other adjectival verbs that is much closer to "Fiery Claw" so we think his name translated more literally could be "Claw of Fire." You can see his name here (Fig.37) written with a jaguar paw from which you can see flames rising. A very nice confirmation of this translation comes from the work of Stan Guenter. Here on one of the great beautiful masks excavated by Richard Hansen at El Mirador, were images that portrayed very large claws coming out on both sides of the earflares. Stan's idea is similar to that idea presented yesterday during Bob Sharer's talk, where he mentioned that located on the basal platform of Margarita was a portrait of a quetzal intertwined with a macaw spelling the name of *Yax K'uk' Mo'* in a sort of giant form. Stan believes that these images were giant hieroglyphs that actually spelled peoples' names. Therefore, this mask may actually spell the name Jaguar Paw using these great images to spell out "Fiery Claw." Although a common name, the masks at El Mirador do not name this particular Jaguar Paw.

(David Freidel's Comments) On the iconography of Late Preclassic facade panels, the compositional elements above the jaguar paw are standard. They represent a knot and above that a bifurcate scroll. These elements occur regularly on facades of this period. What is distinctive in this case is the jaguar paw rendering itself. However, the elements that are identified by Stan as fire, while I think that's a plausible reading, they are standard elements in the corpus of flanges flanking these main masks.

(Simon) Well I think that this is a nice idea, I do not personally buy that this is the same thing. The reason being is the same point made by David Freidel. However, I do think the concept that this maybe a Preclassic king list (as seen on the dynastic vase texts) is something I believe. (Nikolai) We also have to keep in mind that this maybe a local king list for Calakmul kings or "Snake-Head" kings which doesn't necessarily have to overlap with kings from El Mirador. The idea that El Mirador is a Preclassic precursor to the Kan kingdom is something we still have to prove.

(Richard Hansen Comments here) (Nikolai) Did you understand the argument by Richard Hansen? Since the great majority of the codex-style vessels have been found at Nakbe and in the vicinity of Nakbe (located in the Mirador Basin) suggests a tie between the early Kan kings and this region. Any new iconographic information that links this king list to any of the sites in this region, including Nakbe, would be terrific and really great!



Figure 37. *Yich'aak K'ak's* name and the El Mirador Facade.



## THE SPREAD OF DYNASTIC KINGSHIP

(Nikolai) With this, we have finished the first part of our presentation dealing with retrospective texts. Remember, retrospective texts are those written during the Classic Period that talk about the Preclassic. We are now going to talk about something that is closely linked and so we would like to talk about the spread of dynastic kingship. What did they say about the origins of their dynasties? (Simon) The dynasty vases are fascinating because they produce a list and one of the interesting things about the Calakmul dynasty is that it doesn't have a dynastic count. They never make a long dynastic count like the ones we are about to see. It is important to remember the distinction between the etic and the emic. (Nikolai) As we are about to show, the Classic Maya did regard the Preclassic Period as something that was different. They spent a lot of time and a lot of energy telling us about the founding of their dynasties. For them, this was really the beginning of real history and the most relevant history of the antithesis to which they refer back more often than to anything else. The Maya do not talk as much of the Preclassic Period as they do about the Founders of their dynasties or the Founders of their lineages.

We know about the Founders, basically through the work of Peter Mathews. Peter discovered at Yaxchilan and at a couple of other sites that this glyph here, originally known as the "numbered *hel*" title, seemed to function as a succession title (Fig.38). Eric Thompson called this glyph the *hel* hieroglyph because the word *hel* means "to change" or "to switch over." The main sign of this hieroglyph is also found as the main sign of the Distance Number Introductory Glyph and Thompson thought that this represented a "change over" from one time to another time. This idea of "change" or "succession" is still correct, but the glyph is now actually read *tz'ak*. In these numbered succession titles you commonly find both a *bu* and *li* suffix. *Tz'ak* is a positional verb and *bul* is a suffix that derives transitives from positional verbs and it means "to set in order." Peter Mathews, along with Berthold Reise, recognized that these titles were often preceded by numbers. As you can see in our example, we have the number 2 and the number 20. Therefore, the number is 22. This numbered hieroglyph also contains an *u* prefix. The *u* prefix together with the *li* suffix tells you that this is possessed. That means that this is the "22<sup>nd</sup> in the order" or the "22<sup>nd</sup> succession." Berthold Reise was the first person to show that Maya kings always had the same number in texts that referred to specific kings. Linda Schele, David Stuart, and I realized that at Copan and at some other sites, that these numbered succession titles connected the names of historical people with the names of Founders.

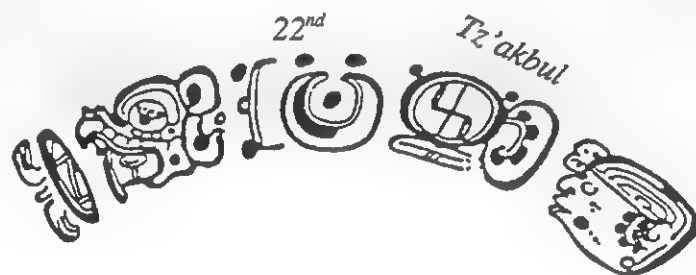


Figure 38. A Typical Succession Phrase, Tikal, Plate from Burial 195 (Drawing by John Montgomery).

We can see a good example of this here on Tikal, Stela 5 (Fig.39). Here we have the name of *Yik'in Chan K'awiil* or Ruler B of Tikal (B4) and he calls himself the 27<sup>th</sup> *Tz'akbul* "the 27<sup>th</sup> Successor of" (A5-B5). Following this successor glyph is a name that we always find to be constant in these numbered succession titles at Tikal. Thus, the current king would either be the 21<sup>st</sup>, the 22<sup>nd</sup>, or the 23<sup>rd</sup> ruler, but it would be counted from a date that is defined here by this hieroglyph (A6). We have interpreted this hieroglyph as the Founder of the dynasty. This must be the name of the person who founded this particular dynasty. The Founder of the dynasty of Tikal was called *Yax Ehb' Xok*. Simon is now going to show you how this name is read.

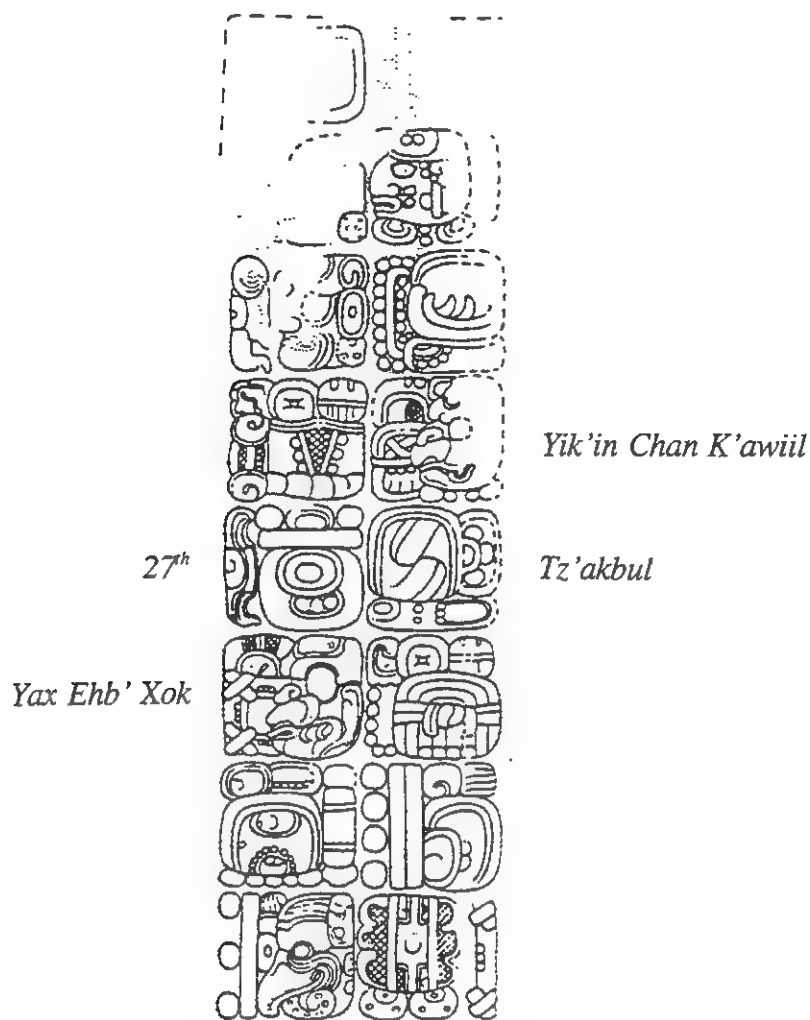
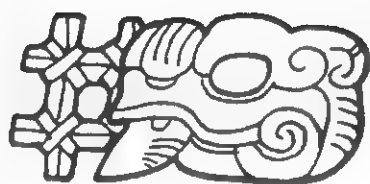
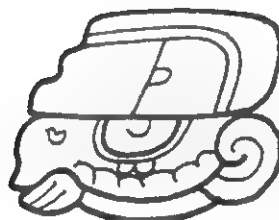


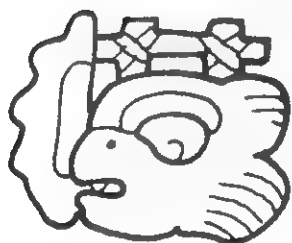
Figure 39. Tikal, Stela 5 (Drawing by William Coe).



St. 39



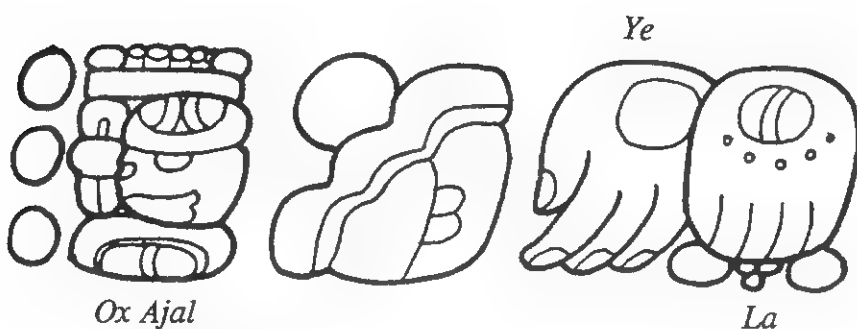
UNPROVENANCED POT



St. 17



UNPROVENANCED POT.



Ox Ajal

Ye

B'a

La

YAX HS. 2



E-B'u

NAX HS

Figure 41. More Examples of Yax Ehb' Xok's Name (Drawings by Simon Martin).

(Nikolai) This name appears in phrases, such as this one on Tikal, Stela 17 (Fig.42). Here the current king is called the 21<sup>st</sup> (A1) *Tz'akb'ul* "Successor" (B1). I think this next glyph is very interesting. The glyph reads *u-te* "in the tree" (A2) and so together these glyphs state that he was "the 21<sup>st</sup> Successor in the Tree" or "the 21<sup>st</sup> Successor of the Tree." This must be a reference to someone in the "dynasty or family of" *Yax Ehb' Xok* (B2). I think you can clearly see the idea that Founders were like the roots of a tree. There is a very nice Colonial document from the 16<sup>th</sup> century of Xiu Family Papers that shows the Founder of the Xiu Dynasty lying on the ground and out of him grows the tree of the Xiu family (Fig.43). Many people think that this a nice example of how European ideas of genealogy were represented. Unfortunately, this is not European. This is perfectly Maya. The Maya also entertained the idea of trees as families. The text continues with an obscure statement that features a number 13 followed by a *te* sign (A3). Does this mean that there were 13 different family trees or generations at Tikal or are there 13 different dynasties or Founders in the Maya Lowlands? (Phil Wanyerka Comments) Or 13 Lineages!

(Nikolai) As you can see here in this case, Stela 17 is the last pre-hiatus monument erected at Tikal. The monument dates to AD 562. Tikal, Stela 5 is post-hiatus monument and it probably represents the revival of the dynasty. As you may recall *Hasaw Chan K'awiil* revived the Tikal dynasty in the late 7<sup>th</sup> century. Now, as you can see the count of trees has increased by 1. Here you can see the number 14 followed by the *te* glyph. That is probably the solution. We are making new discoveries here.

(Simon) In addition to that, if the *te* represents "family" or "lineage" then 13 is the lineage of Double Bird or *Wak Chan K'awiil* since Stela 17 is one of his monuments. By the time of Ruler B, the person we talked about who commissioned the Temple of the Inscriptions text, the number has advanced to 14. (Nikolai) We are now entering a sea of pure speculation, but I'm really excited about the idea of numbered families.

(Question) Are you saying that there were 13 lineages at Tikal or 13 lineages in the Maya Lowlands? (Simon) I think it refers to 13 ruling families which is why it switches to 14 because they were wiped out during the Early Classic. (Nikolai) We have similar counts of trees at Quirigua. (Simon) Well, the Tikal, Temple of the Inscriptions text talks about *Sak Hix Mut* (White Jaguar Bird) and in that text, they are talking about the 14<sup>th</sup> tree as Ruler B does here on Stela 5. This could be the whole reason why that monument was commissioned: it was used to justify the sanctity of the new lineage or family.

(Phil Wanyerka Comments) That would also explain why we see the ancient name repeated over and over again at Copan. (Simon) Phil's making a point here that this notion may also link together the Foliated *Ajaw* Character that we looked at this earlier from Copan and Pusilha, as being one of these previous families. *Yax K'uk' Mo'* effectively comes in and says we are a new family. We will have to think about this. (Nikolai) I think that this would make an excellent point in which to stop for lunch. We are very excited about some these new insights and so we will see you at 2 PM.

**Lunch 12:10 to 2:08 PM**

21<sup>st</sup>

U-Te

13 Te

U Pakal

Tz'akbul

Yax Ehb' Xok

K'inich  
Xultun Lord

14 Te

Figure 42. A: Tikal, Stela 17 (Drawing by John Montgomery), B: Tikal, Stela 5 (Drawing by William Coe).

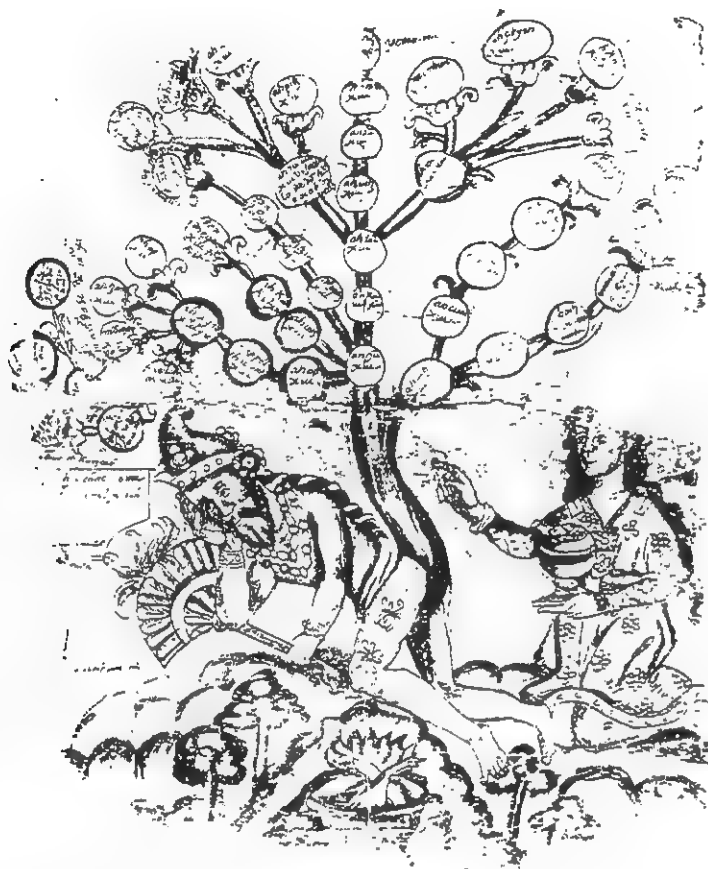


Figure 43. Geneological Tree of the Xiu Lineage, Mani, Yucatan, Mexico.

(Nikolai) Well, before lunch we had some ideas and now after lunch we have even more ideas! Things have now unfolded and we are going to show you even more. This workshop is becoming really exciting! I think we are in the process of discovering a very important thing, but in order to show you what we discussed over lunch we need a couple more overheads. While they are being produced, let's take a look at the site of Yaxchilan. At Yaxchilan we also have references to a Founder. Almost every Maya city where we have a royal dynasty has its own Founder. Sometimes the Maya are very explicit about the Founder and mention that person over and over. At other sites, like Yaxchilan and Naranjo, they do not mention the Founder in such explicit statements. Yaxchilan, Lintel 11 (Fig.44) refers to a count of kings.

(Simon) First let me explain the *hel* glyph (Fig.45). This is a sequence of lintels from Yaxchilan: 4 of them spell out the dynasty that we later see referred to in the Classic Period. This was really worked out by Peter Mathews back in about 1975. One of the early, quite understandable mistakes, is the notion that these 2 signs looked very similar. However, it was realized that they each have distinct meanings. This is the *tz'ak* sign that Nikolai showed you earlier today. The *tz'ak* sign is very similar to this sign here, but they are not the same. This sign appears to be a conventionalized knotted cord. We know from substitutional evidence that this sign is read *tal*. The *tal* glyph is a formal way for changing numbers into ordinal numbers. Here on Yaxchilan, Lintel 11, we see *u-na tal* which is a really complex way of saying "the first" (A1). Here we can see what they are referring to and that is the "seating" of a person as *ajaw* (B1). What I am trying to highlight here is the notion that this is a particular construction that is different from those used in Founder constructions. This doesn't tell you who was the successor of someone else. Rather, it simply states what number they were in a line. That means in our text we have *u-na tal chum ajaw, Yopaat* (or *Yoaat*) *B'alam, Siyaj Chan Ajaw* which tells us the name of the Founder of Yaxchilan in a simple construction.

*U-Na Tal Chum Ajaw*



*Yopaat B'alam Siyaj Chan Ajaw*

Figure 44. Yaxchilan, Lintel 11  
(Drawing by Peter Mathews).

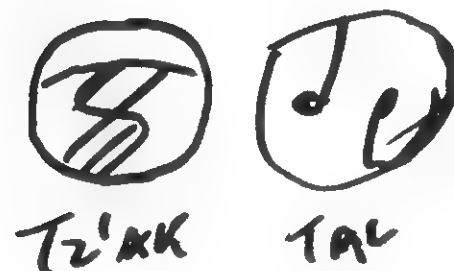


Figure 45. The *Tz'ak* and *Tal* Signs.  
(Drawings by Simon Martin)

The same sort of pattern is also found on this text from the Tikal Dynastic Pot (Fig.46). Here we have the *u* prefix followed by the number 11 and the *tal* glyph for the 11<sup>th</sup> king. Here we have the 13<sup>th</sup> king and here we have the 14<sup>th</sup> king. For those of you who were here last year you may remember that this text was a very important piece of evidence for expanding the known dynasty of Tikal. This king, who is the 14<sup>th</sup>, had been misunderstood as being the 9<sup>th</sup>. This is the Great Jaguar Paw (*Chak Tok Ich'aak I*) and he ends up being the 14<sup>th</sup> ruler rather than the 9<sup>th</sup>. These characters, including *Siyaj Chan K'awiil* are predecessors. Therefore, yesterday when it was mentioned that *Siyaj Chan K'awiil* was Stormy Sky, he was actually the second and so it is this guy here is actually the first (the 11<sup>th</sup> ruler). This is 1 of 2 pieces of evidence to suggest that he had a predecessor.

Earlier on today, Nikolai mentioned a person named *Ix Unen B'alam* and she would have fit in the Tikal sequence right here (between the 11<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> rulers. It is possible that she was excluded from the sequence. The reason we have no 12<sup>th</sup> ruler named is because the Maya were interested in a male genealogy. Alternatively there is some evidence from Palenque that women were not counted in the sequence. It was possible to be a queen and the head of the state, but this was not a count of rulers as much as it was a count of male rulers. The other interesting thing about this is the style and forms of the *u* glyphs and the abbreviated *la* suffixes. There is clearly another bowl created by this scribe. He was painting for a ruler called Animal Skull. Animal Skull lived in about AD 600 or so and this text goes back to before AD 400. Thus, this is really an ancient part of the sequence and for some reason Animal Skull wanted a pot to commemorate it. The pot itself is decorated with a royal *mat* pattern painted in red (Fig.47). What is important about this, is that the 14<sup>th</sup> king was the last king to reign at Tikal before the Entrada or the Teotihuacan instigation of influence there. This really becomes quite important for the next group of peoples.



Figure 46. Tikal, Dynastic Pot Text (Drawing by John Montgomery).



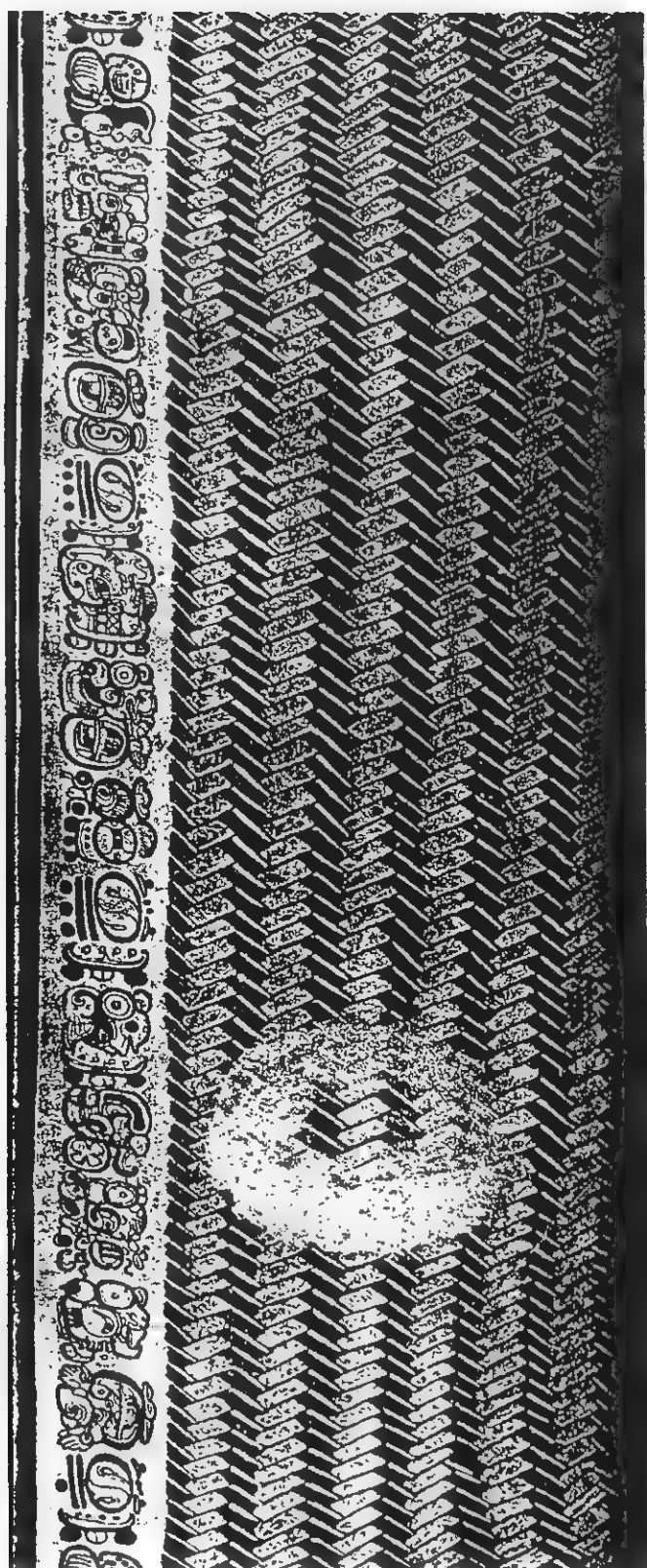


Figure 47. Rollout of the Tikal Dynastic Pot (Kerr File No. 4679).

(Nikolai) Well, let's look at Piedras Negras, Altar 1 (Fig.48). Altar 1 contains a very large text on its side. The text starts with a reference to a previous creation date in the year 4691 BC. The second date talks about the creation of the universe and then the text jumps forward in time to the 8.13.0.0.0 Period Ending. Here we have a Calendar Round date that is read 9 Ajaw (S1) 3 Sak (T1). Following the Calendar Round is a glyph that looks like a calabash with a reduplication sign (S2) for the word *tzutz* meaning "to complete" or "to finish." The thing that was finished was the 13<sup>th</sup> *k'atun* (second half of S2). This corresponds to the date 8.13.0.0.0. This is again, long before we have actual archaeological data from Piedras Negras. Our information about the settling of the Usumacinta is very meager still. At this time the "stone was tied" or "bound" (T2) and that is about all we can say concerning this text. What makes this interesting is that the 8.13.0.0.0 date is also mentioned at Pomona.

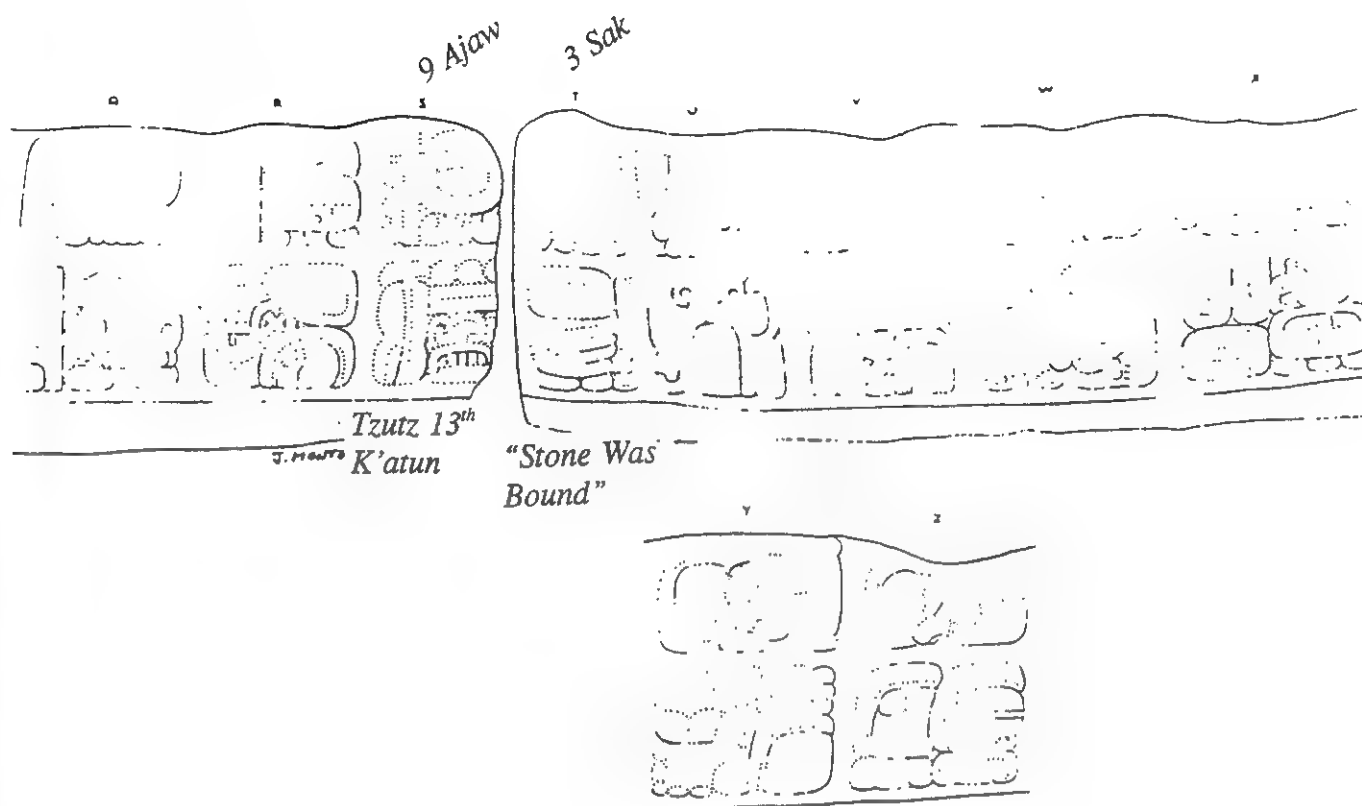


Figure 48. Piedras Negras, Altar 1 (Drawing by John Montgomery).

This is a panel from Pomona (Fig.49). Again we have the *tzutz* “completion” verb recorded here (B2). Here we have the day 9 *Ajaw* (B1) and I do not see the 3 *Sak*, but it should be at A2. The 13<sup>th</sup> *k’atun* glyph is written here (C2) and so we are dealing with the 8.13.0.0.0 Period Ending. The verb is recorded as *ilaj* “it was witnessed” (B3) followed by the last part of the person’s name here (B4). The text continues with *uh-ti-ya* “it happened at” (C1) and here is the Pomona Place Name (D1) followed by the 13<sup>th</sup> *k’atun* glyph (C2). The final glyph probably represents a distance number to connect with the next date (D2).

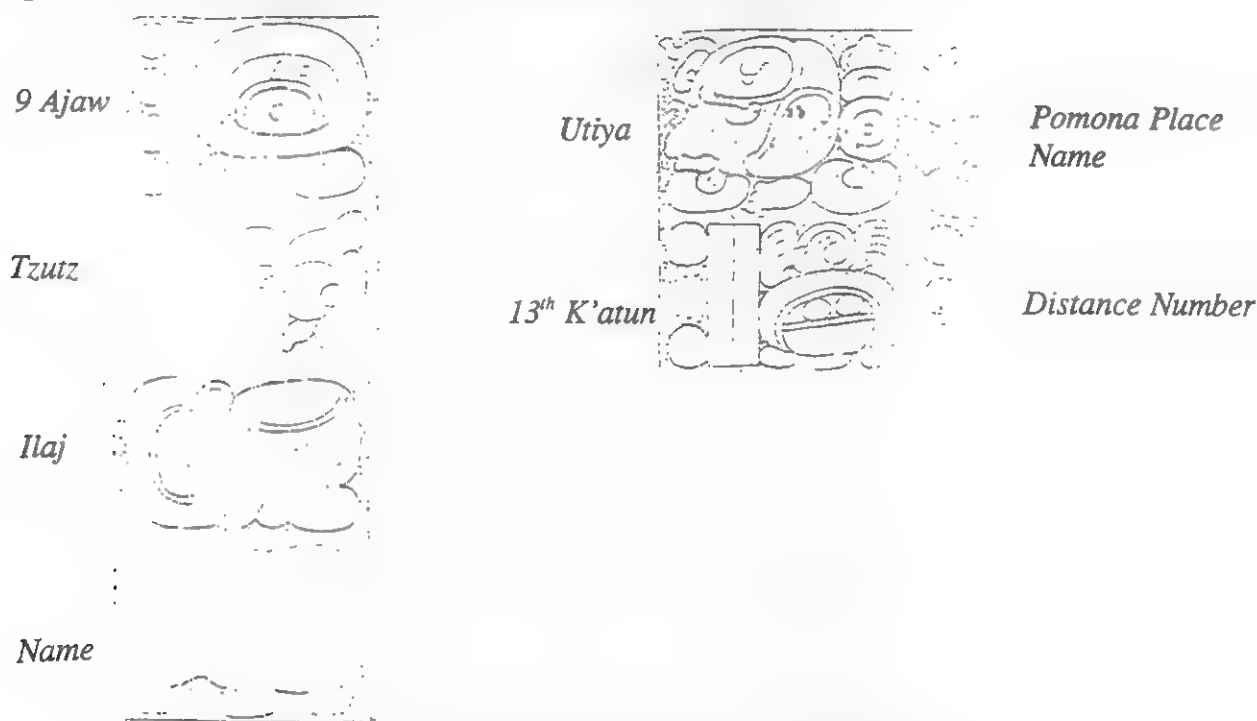


Figure 49. Carved Panel from Pomona (Drawing by Ian Graham).

The same 8.13.0.0.0 date is also recorded at Yaxchilan on Hieroglyphic Stairway I (Fig.50). The text records a passage that contains a date (1-2) and an accession event written as *chumwan* (3) and what follows must be the nominal phrase of *Yoaat B'alam* the Founder of Yaxchilan (4-5). These dates and their placement, although they are Calendar Round dates that are not securely placed in the Long Count, can be read accurately because the entire text records a list of kings. Included here is a list of accessions and of prisoners which kings have taken. The text chronicles a whole list of kings that starts with the current king *Yaxun B'alam IV* and then counts back into the history, naming each one of the earlier kings.

(Simon) The problem here is that there is no fixed point for any of these early kings and so we followed Peter Mathews' original suggestion. In our new book entitled “Chronicle of the Maya Kings and Queens” you will see that we laid out all of the rulers chronologically. Because of that you can see that the first group of rulers are heavily bunched in a way that makes me feel that Werner Nahm's idea might be right. (Nikolai) Werner Nahm has suggested that the accession date of *Yoaat B'alam* (1-2) can be fixed to the Long Count date. That date then corresponds to a date that is close to 8.13.0.0.0. So if Werner Nahm is right and I think he is, then what we would have is 3 Usumacinta cities all mentioning or focusing on this 8.13.0.0.0 date. There is very strong evidence that the 8.13.0.0.0 date signifies the beginning of dynastic kingship at the Usumacinta sites.

Date Chumwan  
 Yoat B'alam

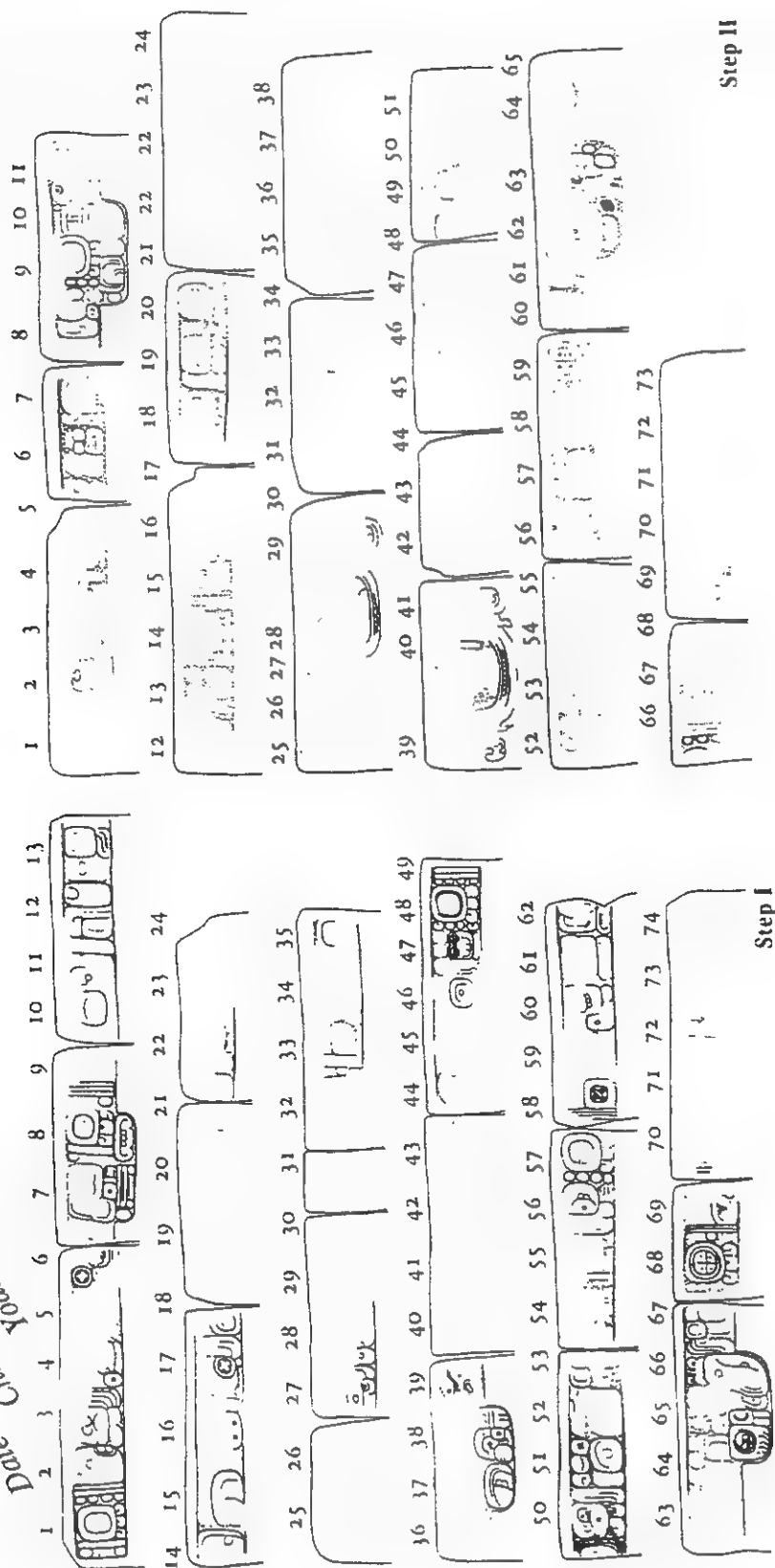


Figure 50. Yaxchilan, Hieroglyphic Stairway I (Drawing by Ian Graham).

Now from this context we will talk about our ideas. First, let me show you this famous *Xiu* Family Tree. This is from the *Xiu* Family papers that Morley found. The Founder of the *Xiu* dynasty can be seen lying down here. He is represented in a Europeanized fashion. His name is *Junwitzil Chaak* and his name was recorded somewhere in the scene in a cartouche. His name actually means "1 Mountain *Chaak*." Out of his body grows a tree and this tree has many branches. Each of the branches are inscribed with the names of the members of the *Xiu* family. Well, a generation of anthropologist and art historians have interpreted this image as an example of iconographic syncretism. They believe that this is an example of Medieval European ideas incorporated into Maya expressionism. However, the idea that trees are family seems to be very Maya.

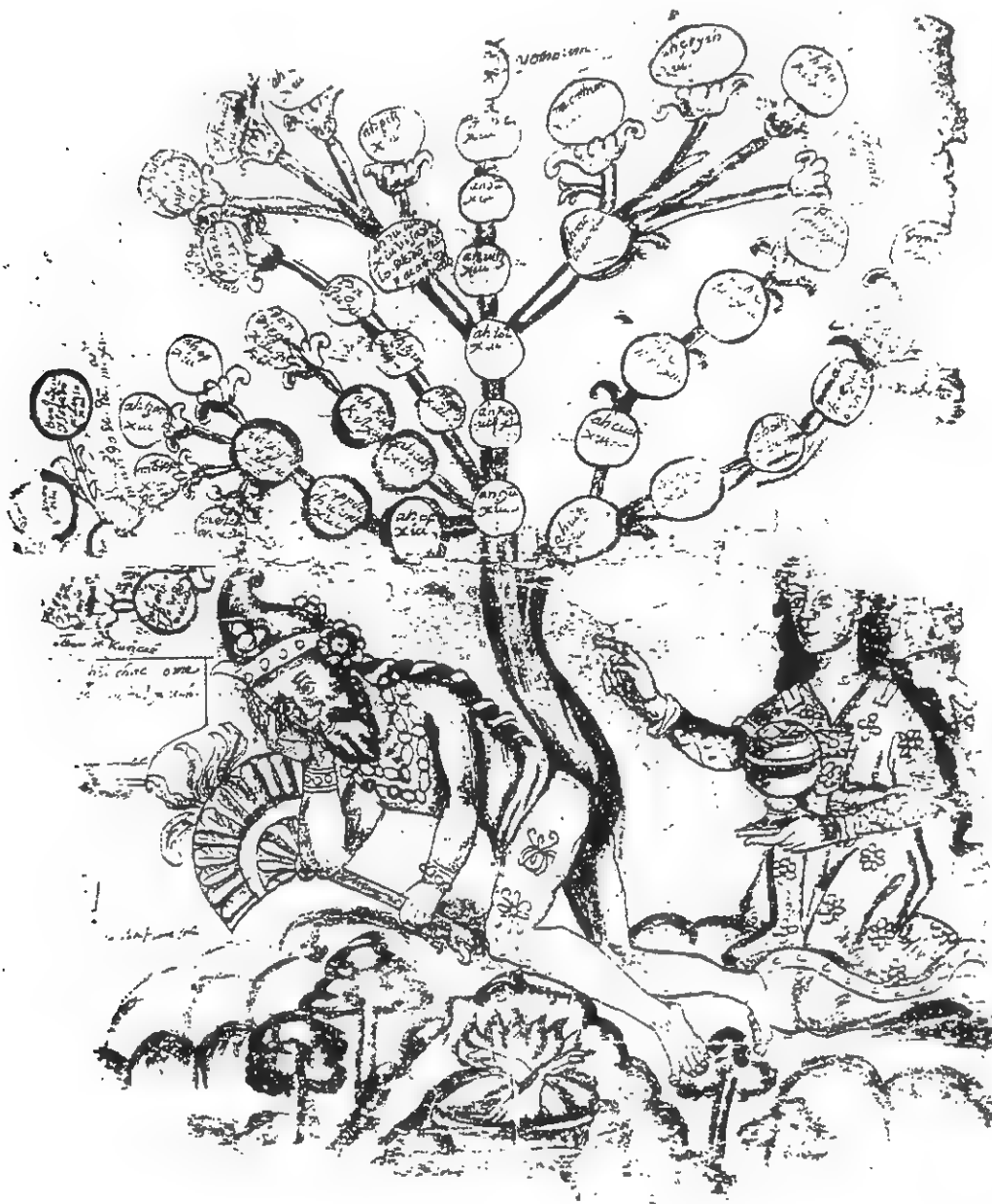


Figure 51. The *Xiu* Family Tree (Tozzer Library, Harvard University).

Our new ideas started to unfold when we began talking about Tikal, Stela 17 and so we should go back to that inscription (Fig.52). If you remember, we were talking about the "21st Succession in the Tree or in the Family of" (A1-A2) *Yax Ehb' Xok* (B2). We then have some additional information about *Yax Ehb' Xok* recorded here (A3). This glyph states that he is the "13<sup>th</sup> Tree." I wonder whether this glyph here (B3) is the *Sak Hix Mut* character that we saw on the Tikal, Temple of the Inscriptions text? (Simon) The thing that's also really interesting is this name here (A4-B4) recorded as *U-Pakal K'inich* and although not pictured here, he carries the emblem glyph of Xultun. We had no idea why that was recorded here. Obviously, this is the most important glyph (B3) since it connects the 2 names together. (Nikolai) What this means, is that we do have a count of kings from a dynastic Founder. The people who counted or the people in this count are called members of his tree: meaning the "Tree of *Yax Ehb' Xok*." This puts *Yax Ehb' Xok* into this very same position as *Hun Witzil Chaak*: the person at the root of the *Xiu* Family Tree. Clearly, we have 13 trees and now the question is what does the count of different dynasties mean? The count of dynasties seems very Egyptian. Is this count restricted exclusively to a particular city, like for instance Tikal or do we have 13 dynasties in the Lowlands? I think we have great evidence that we are dealing with a count of dynasties within Tikal and probably at other places. This forces us to rethink what the Classic Maya thought of the transition from the Preclassic to the Classic Period.

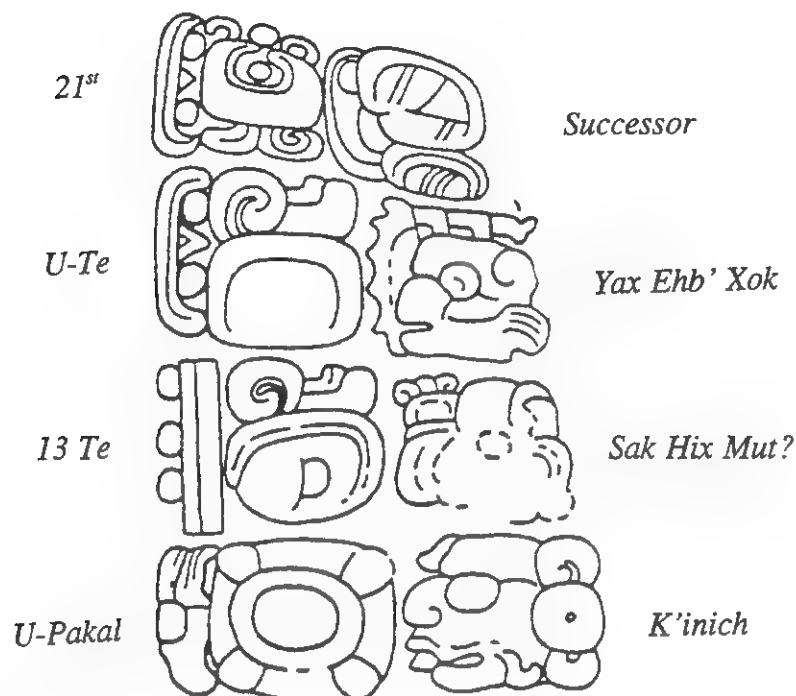


Figure 52. Tikal, Stela 17 (Drawing by John Montgomery).

(Simon) What we were getting excited about was this text here on the Temple of the Inscriptions at Tikal (Fig.53). Earlier we talked about *Sak Hix Mut* (White Jaguar Bird) having an emblem glyph. Well throughout this text there is a numerated count that features this glyph here. This is the jaw-less jaguar form of the *te* sign and so this is 14 *te*. This is the complete companion and counterpart to the 13 *te*. This would suggest that if this were a count of patrilineal descent, then we have switched from where we were, which was 13, to where we are here, which is 14. This would be a good argument that Ruler B, the individual associated with the 14 *te*, was the commissioner of this monument and the subject of most of the text. However, what now seems especially relevant is that we thought the dynasty changes between the time of Double Bird and Animal Skull. In fact, this change is very explicitly recorded as being between Double Bird (*Wak Chan K'awiil*) and his successor.

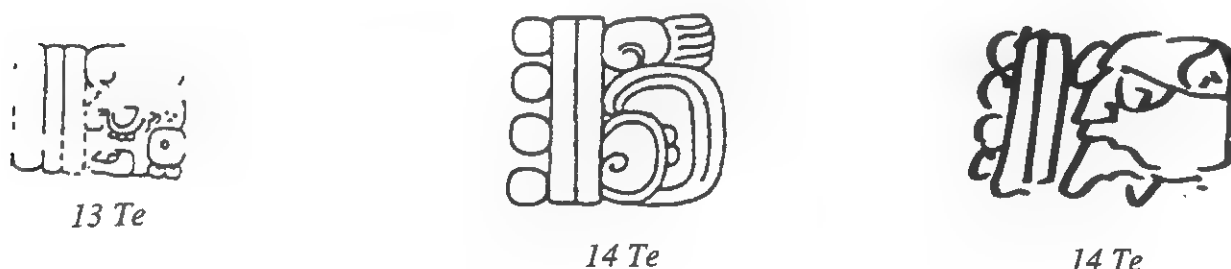


Figure 53. The Numbered *Te* Titles as Recorded on Tikal, Temple of the Inscriptions Text and on Tikal, Stela 5 (Drawings by William Coe and John Montgomery).

(Nikolai) This is a stucco plate from Burial 195 at Tikal (Fig.54). Some of the stucco has fallen off this plate, but beneath this layer of stucco are the remains of an earlier inscription. Here we do have a long nominal phrase of the king we call "Animal Skull" (J-M). Notice here (N) he carries the title read *Nab' Nal K'inich*. (Simon) There are problems with the historical record at Tikal. For those of you who were not here last year, the crucial thing about Double Bird, the character listed as the 13<sup>th</sup> *Te*, is that he was the king of Tikal during its defeat at the end of the Early Classic. So this is where the famous Star War against Tikal took place in AD 562. We know that Double Bird was the son of *Chak Tok Ich'aak II* and we know that *Chak Tok Ich'aak II* was the son of *K'an Chitam*. Now we also know that *K'an Chitam* was the son of *Siyaj Chan K'awil II* and (Nikolai) *Siyaj Chan K'awil II* was the son of *Yax Nuun Ayiin*. *Yax Nuun Ayiin* was the son of a lord from somewhere else, perhaps a Mexican lord and perhaps the king of Teotihuacan: "Spearthrower Owl." So "Double Bird" was still in the dynasty or in the same patrilineage as "Spearthrower Owl." (Simon) Well, that's not true of "Animal Skull" because "Animal Skull" follows "Double Bird." "Double Bird" is defeated. There is a Star War over Tikal. We believe for various reasons that we cannot be absolutely certain about, that Caracol was not the conqueror of Tikal, rather it was Calakmul who was the conqueror of Tikal. Time will tell whether this is true or not. However, the main thing here is that we have lots of information about "Animal Skull." We know who is



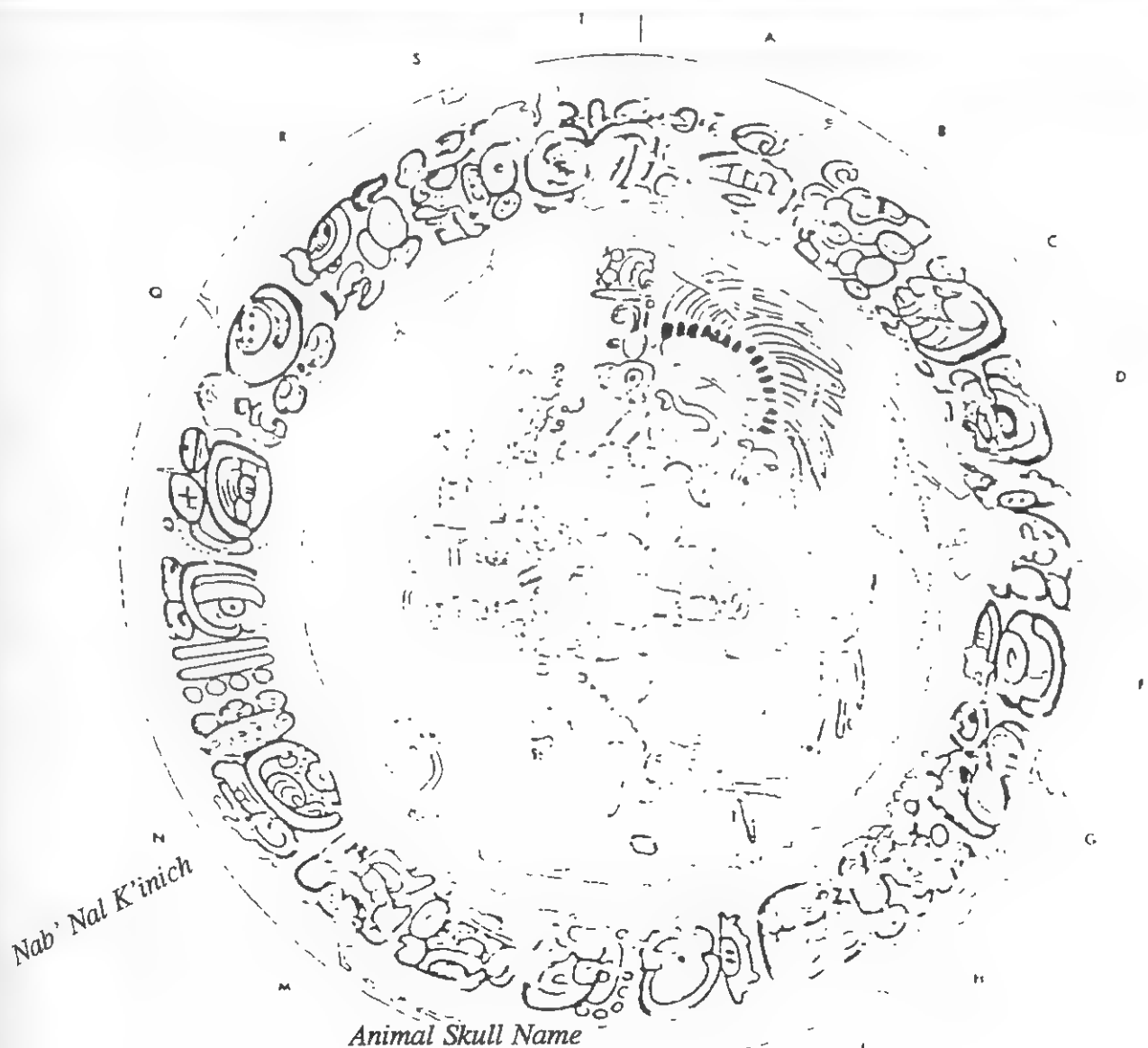


Figure 54. Stucco Plate, Tikal, Burial 195.

born. (Simon) Well, she comes from the place of the Jaguar because she was an *Hix B'alam Ajaw*. (Nikolai) She maybe a normal lady, but she comes from a place that we as of yet can identify.

(Simon) Remember, he cites her as his prime claim to legitimacy. This is a point that Chris Jones has made several years ago. It's important to see that he doesn't claim a male parent as being the most important for his legitimacy, rather he talks about his mother. This has always seemed to suggest that there was a break in the patriline. He does mention his father, but only once and he is not given any titles. This leads us to believe that "Animal Skull" was the beginning of a new patriline at Tikal.

(Nikolai) If this is the case, this interruption in the patriline would be considered by the Maya as a new dynasty being set into power. In this particular case we don't know how "Animal Skull" and "Double Bird" were related to each other. (Simon) What's interesting is that he is still around, which is why he doesn't mention *Yax Ehb' Xok*. He says that he is the 27<sup>th</sup> Successor, but only of the Tikal *Ajaw*. (Nikolai) He still has an interest to place himself

within the larger accession of *Yax Ehb' Xok*, but he doesn't express himself as a successor of *Yax Ehb' Xok*. (Simon) So "Double Bird" says that he is 21<sup>st</sup> Successor and "Animal Skull" says that he is the 22<sup>nd</sup> Successor. It would seem that they were directly related. (Nikolai) He probably had more interest in saying he was the 22<sup>nd</sup> king. There is a difference between saying "the so and so king of somebody" or "the 21<sup>st</sup> Successor of somebody." It seems here that they were emphasizing only the kings in the line, rather than connecting themselves to the Founder. Here you can see immediately after this disruption took place because of the Star War in AD 562, we do get this new *te* number and so he is in the 14<sup>th</sup> Tree. We now think that "tree" or *te* is the Maya word for "family" or "dynasty" or "lineage" (which is probably the most appropriate word to say here).

(Simon) So this is a kind of independent thing from the dynastic count itself. It should mean, if this is correct, that "Animal Skull" is the lineal-head of which Ruler B, 150 years later, was still saying that he was a 14 *Te*. Therefore, Ruler B must be "Animal Skull's" relative.

(Nikolai) Yes! At the time, *Yax Ehb' Xok* was just one of many Founders. Just as *Yax Ehb' Xok* was the Founder of the last *te*. (Simon) Well it must be more complicated than that otherwise they would have changed the numbers.

(Nikolai) It probably reflects different counts.

(Simon) They kept track of the Founders as well as the Dynastic count. (Nikolai) I think that this is confirmation that there were parallel counts that were not immediately connected. We do get similar counts at other places. We haven't put together all of the evidence yet. There are counts of families at Quirigua. There are also other titles for the word *te*.

(Bob Sharer brings up an interesting point here) It seems that the Maya were tracking dynasties, if you want to call it that. However, any dynasty can still claim to be at least in title and as an office holder, to be a descendent of the original Founder. (Simon) This is exactly what we were talking about at lunch. The *wite-naah* (the "roots of the tree") could be linked into this system. (Nikolai) At Copan, we have a statement that reads *Ox-Witik* meaning "the 3 Roots" and this title increases to 4 or *Kan Witik* on very late monuments. I think there are some 4 monuments that mention 4 *Witik* at Copan and they are all very late monuments, probably commissioned by Ukit Took', the ruler after *Yax Pasaj*. (Nikolai) So if there was an independent count of families, the *Sak Hix Mut* character probably represented the first person in the standing count that was kept apart from the count of the dynasties.

So let's take a look at Copan. Well, there are more counts of kings recorded at Copan than at any other Maya site. During the Late Classic Period, these kings are also very explicit about their position in regards to the Founder of the Copan Dynasty, *Yax K'uk' Mo'*. This text here from Copan, Stela 19 refers to the father of *Waxaklajuun Ub'aah K'awiil*: "Smoke *Imix*" (Fig.55). Thus, this monument was erected by "Smoke *Imix*", the 12 king. He calls himself U (A1) 12 *Tz'akbul* "the 12<sup>th</sup> in the Succession" (A2). This is followed by a title read *Wuk Chapaat* (A3) and a title that reads *K'inich Ajaw* (A4). The name continues here (A5) with another *K'inich* meaning "Sun-Lord" or "Sun-Faced" *Yax K'uk' Mo'* (A6). The text then goes on to call *Yax K'uk' Mo'* a "West *Kalomte*" (A7).

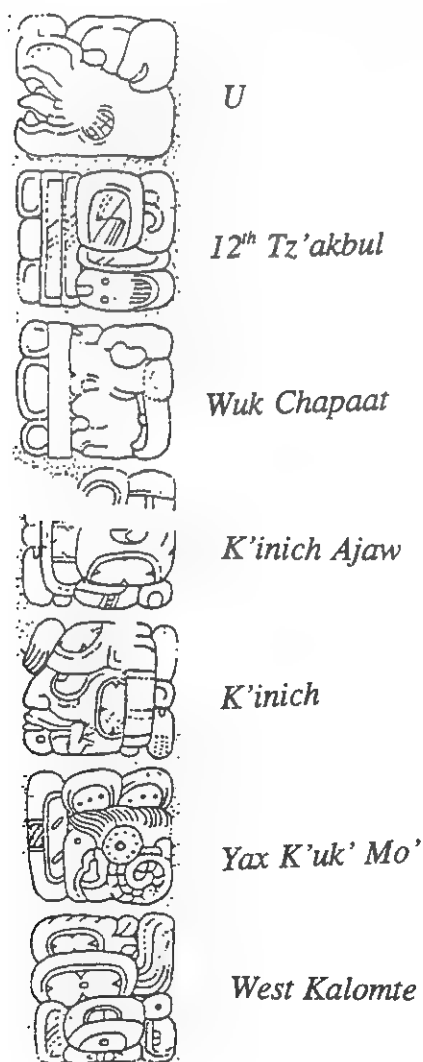


Figure 55. Copan, Stela 19 (Drawing by Linda Schele).

The *Kalomte* title is usually written with these hieroglyphs (Fig.56). Sometimes the title will have a *te* suffix. This is a title that we have tried to decipher phonetically. It was once read *ma-ku* and *te*, but none of these syllables ever rendered a good reading. It later turned out that on Copan, Stela 19 and from other Late/Terminal Classic Period inscriptions, that the spelling of this title was replaced by the phonetic syllables *ka-lo-ma-te* or *kalomte*. We also have spellings of this title from Machaquila where there is a *ka* syllable written on top of the glyph to make sure that this title was to be understood as a *kalomte* title. Basically, all of this is just one big logographic sign. These elements have become part of the logographic sign during the Early Classic Period. Since that time, the reading of all of these signs has become fused that is read as a single logograph sign. (Simon) For those of you who want to see the specifics of this glyph, I will try and explain it again very quickly. What we have here is an original sign

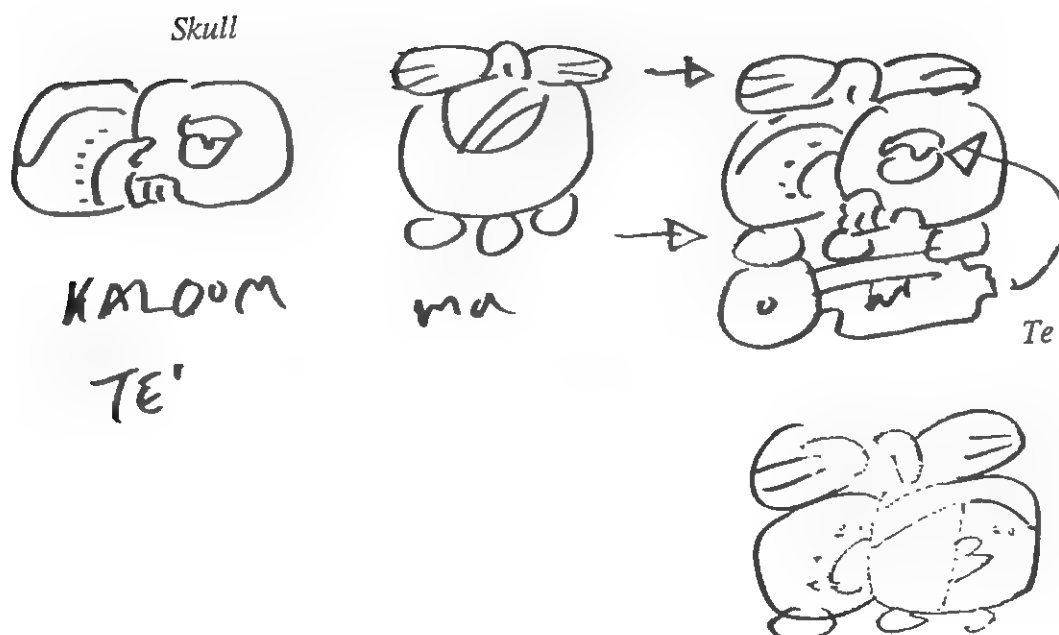


Figure 56. The Kalomte Title (Drawings by Simon Martin).

that looked like a skull. For reasons best known to the Maya, that was a logogram for *k'al*. Now in early versions of *ma*, again for reasons best known to themselves, the sign was drawn in full form like this. It was basically a compound sign. Now when you put those 2 signs together you end up with this glyph here. You can still find a couple of these versions in the inscriptions of Palenque and at a few other places. The word appears to be spelled *kalom* and in some cases, the word is spelled with a *te*. As you can see, the *ma* sign is just showing itself on either side of the entire glyphic compound. Thus, you do not pronounce *ma* twice and *ma* is not read first. It is just that another sign is slotted into the middle of the glyph. And if the Maya decide to abbreviate this glyph, then they will sometimes place the *te* sign into the skull sign or they will cover the skull. That is why we get that Late Classic form as *kalomte*.

Some of you may also know that at Dos Pilas a plate, that was excavated by Arthur Demarest and drawn by Steve Houston, featured an unusual form of the *kalomte* title where a *ki* sign was placed on the image of *Chaak*. The zoomorphic version of that glyph is a Rain God with an axe and he had a *ki* suffix. We know that during the Colonial Period there was a very similar title called *Chaakte* and that is why the *kalomte* title was referred to as a *Chaakte* title in some of the earlier publications. It seems that the Maya had already introduced that reading and that this glyph had lost its sense of the *kalomte*, although you will see a revival of the *kalomte* where I think the archaism becomes attractive to the Maya again in the great late periods at Machaquila.

(Nikolai) Well, the *kalomte* title is another one of those titles that features a *te* suffix. There are many titles that contain a *te* suffix and so as we have shown, the *te* seems to function or refer to "families." I think *kalom* may be title that refers to *Yax K'uk' Mo'* as a person from the "West Something Family." There are also other titles, such as *b'ate*, *y-ajawte*, and *ok-te* that will also need to be explained.

(Elizabeth Wagner Comments here on the origin of the *k'al* sign). (Nikolai) The iconic origin for this sign, (the *tun* sign), is a sign for "axe" and by extension, *Chaak*. Thus, the idea that Chaak is holding this axe is based on the idea that *k'al* also means "to open or to hammer with an axe." I think this is a very good idea. Well, the *kalomte* title seems to be a very high-ranking title of Maya lords that is used after AD 378. In texts before AD 378, we do not get the *kalomte* title. We only see it in retrospective dates. We will probably talk more about the meaning of the *kalomte* title when we talk about Copan, Altar Q.

We get all kinds of back-references in the contexts of numbered succession statements such as this one here on Copan, Stela 10 (Fig.57). Here we have the 10<sup>th</sup> *Tz'akbul* or the "10<sup>th</sup> Successor" (D2) of *K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo'* (C3). In this case, *K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo'* has a very interesting title that we still cannot interpret (D3). The title is spelled *Yu-ne Ajaw* and the question is whether this means that he is the "son of the king." If this were the case, it would help us to understand the origin of *K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo'*. This part here (second half of D3) is especially important and it has yet to be deciphered. I would be careful to make the conclusion that he was the son of the Teotihuacan king or that of the Tikal king.

(Question: Isn't the *yu-ne* title used specifically by the younger children to identify the first born?) (Simon) This has been talked about and I think it is the word that is applied only to the younger sons. Is that true Nick Hopkins? No! It just means a "child."

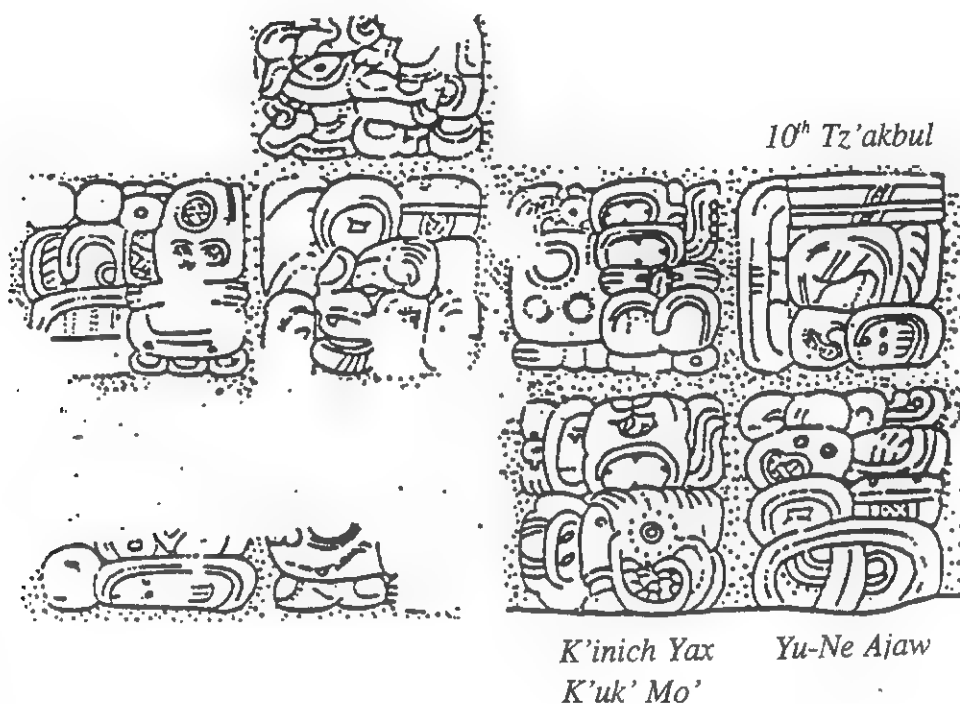


Figure 57. Copan, Stela 10 (Drawing by Linda Schele).

(Nikolai) Okay, let's see a little of the history of *Yax K'uk' Mo'*. This is Copan, Altar Q (Fig.58) one of the most important dynastic monuments perhaps in the entire Maya Lowlands. Portrayed on this monument is a portrait of the Founder of the Copan Dynasty: *Yax K'uk' Mo'* and the 16<sup>th</sup> king *Yax Pasaj Chan Yoaat*. Here is *Yax Pasaj* (16) and here are portraits of all 15 Successors. They are featured in chronological order beginning here with the first king, followed by the 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup>, and so on. Here is *Butz' Chan* (11). This is *Smoke Imix God K* (12): a king who became so famous for his long rule and his incredible age. It is interesting that he does not sit on his personal name glyph like all of the other kings, rather he sits on the glyph for "5 *K'atuns*." This is unique and rare for a king to complete 5 *k'atuns* and so he was between 80 and 100 years old. This is *Waxakljauun U'baah K'awiil* (13). This is *K'ak' Joplaj Chan K'awiil* (14). This is *K'ak' Yipyaj Chan K'awiil* (15) and here again is *Yax Pasaj Chan Yoaat* (16).

*Yax Pasaj* commissioned this monument and here in the center we have a text that describes the date of his accession. He acceded to the throne on 6 *Kaban* 10 *Mol* or June 28, 763 (recorded in space between the portraits of *Yax K'uk' Mo'* and *Yax Pasaj*). He is shown on the side of the altar receiving some kind of symbol of authority, perhaps a staff of office or a torch.

6 *Kaban*  
10 *Mol*

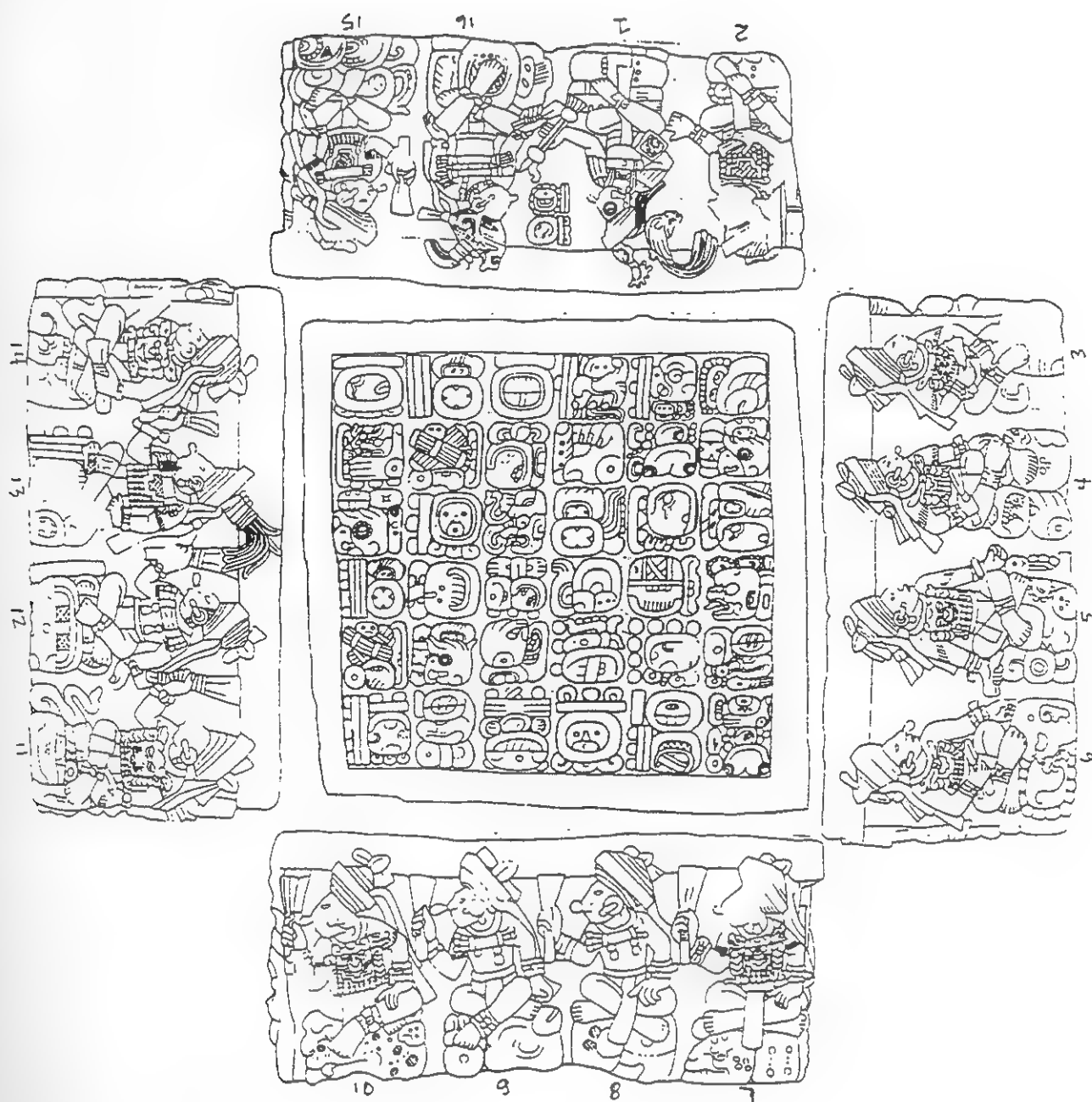


Figure 58. Copan, Altar Q (Drawing by Linda Schele).



(Simon) A number of scholars have studied this text, most notably David Stuart and Linda Schele (Fig.59). The text describes a number of dates. This date recorded here (A1-B1) corresponds to the year AD 426 (September 5, 426). This date is the one often cited as the founding date of Copan, but it seems to be a bit more complicated than that. What happens in AD 426 is a "taking of *K'awiil*" (A2) and so this is a very similar construction and certainly the same kind of event that we saw on the dynastic vases from Calakmul where the "taking of *K'awiil*" is synonymous with "becoming a king." This glyph is followed by a real important and fascinating sign here (B2). This sign has been read under a number of different names. We are still not 100% sure how to pronounce this glyph, but most people simply refer to it as *Wi-Te-Naah* for reasons that will become clear in a second. This sign here is clearly some form of *naah* or "house." The cross-bundles are something that you see quite a bit of in Mexican iconography and Karl Taube has argued that this is a "Place of New Fire." Thus, this has something to do with Foundation Ceremonies or these sorts of initiation rituals. So who is receiving *K'awiil*? What we think now is that there was a deleted preposition here and so this is something that takes place at a place known as the *Wi-Te-Naah*. The person who is receiving that is *K'uk' Mo' Ajaw* (A3) and this is the early name of *Yax K'uk' Mo'* before he becomes a real ruler.

The text continues here (B3-A4) with a new date that is just 3 days later. You can very easily see that 15 *Yaxk'in* has progressed to 18 *Yaxk'in* and 5 *Kaban* has progressed to 8 *Ajaw*. Now this glyph here (B4) was a little bit of a mystery to start with. The glyph is read *tali*. I am not sure why it's such a mystery because it's listed in Terry Kaufman's Proto-Cholan listing as meaning "to come from." The subject is located here as the *Wi-Te-Naah* (A5). This means that a person is coming from the *Wi-Te-Naah* and that person's name is *K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo'* (B5). Notice that his name carries the full-form of his name now that he has become a king. I would like to discuss very briefly this business concerning the *Wi-Te-Naah*.

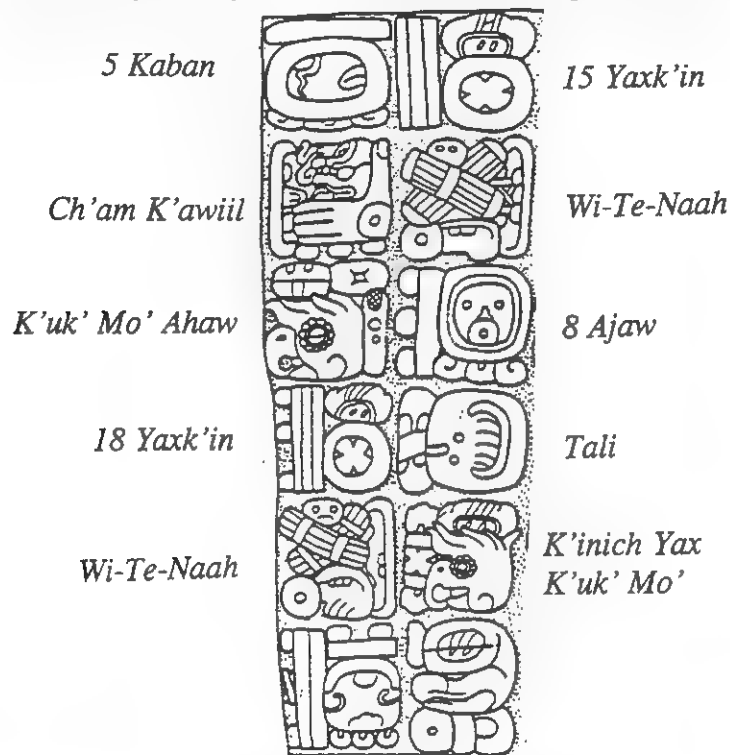


Figure 59. Detail, Copan Altar Q (Drawing by Linda Schele).

The readings for this sign are twofold (Fig.60). There seems to be a phonetic prefix on the examples at Yaxchilan in the form of a *wi* sign. In addition, we have another example of this at Tikal in a passage associated with the accession of *Yax Nuun Ayiin*. Now this of course is the king who is dressing as a Teotihuacano. What he does apart from the events surrounding his accession, is that he dedicates or he "ascends." Here on Tikal, Stela 31 you can see this verb here (A1). Nikolai and David Stuart believe this glyph reads *tab'ay* and what he is "dedicating or ascending" is the *Wi-Te-Naah* (B1). This sign also appears at Rio Azul. The hypothesis is that this is simply a phonetic version of the cross-bands. We do not have the kind of substitution that is going to prove that absolutely just yet. Therefore, at the moment this just appears to be a good idea. Certainly if we think of the cross-bands as being particularly associated with Mexican iconography, that Stela 31 is celebrating some kind of Mexican involvement at Tikal, and finally you have the dedication and initiation of this kind of building. It does seem to form a pattern that could be relevant to what's going on here. Could these 2 places be the same? David Stuart has suggested that they might be and there are of course other possibilities.

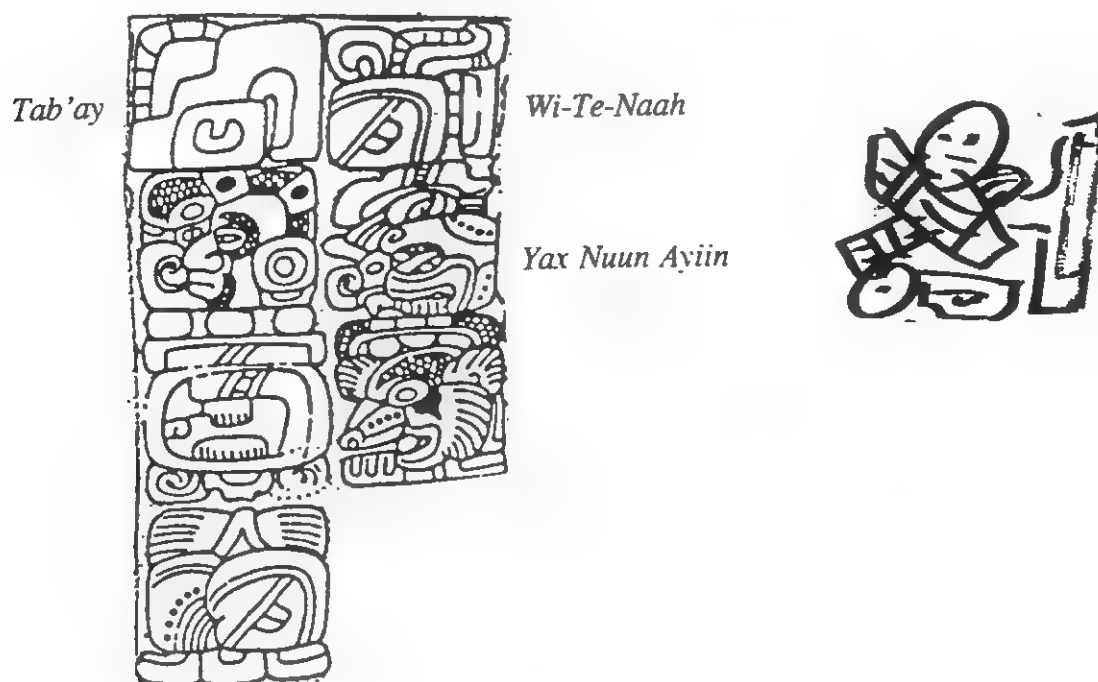


Figure 60. Detail, Tikal, Stela 31 (Drawing by John Montgomery).

Well, what happens next in the text on Copan, Altar Q? It's actually 7 months or some 153 days before we reach the next event on the day 5 *Ben* (C1) 11 *Muwan* (D1) (Fig.61). I think what happens here is still not entirely clear; however, the text reads *hil* meaning "to rest" (C2) followed by *ok'* meaning "stand" or "foot" or "base" (D2). (Nikolai) This is followed by *K'awiil* (C3), but notice that the "foot" is not possessed. When we think of *K'awiil*, his most important attribute is that he is a god with only 1 foot. Remember, he has only 1 human foot

and his other terminates as a coiled snake. There are references in the 819 Day Count to *Yok' K'awiil* meaning the "Foot of *K'awiil*." Here, in this text the glyph is unpossessed and I have no way to explain why. (Simon) One of the ideas is that this may actually refer to *K'awiil* as an effigy and what appears to be happening here may be related to the Central Mexican theme where Foundation events are associated with the carrying of effigies. Presumably, when you arrive somewhere you will have to set that effigy down which may be a very important symbolic event.

Well what else is going on here? We should have the name of the person who is doing the resting and here we have the "West (D3) *Kalomte*" (C4). This title has long been associated with *K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo'*. This is followed by an enigmatic *yit* sign (D4). (Nikolai) This seems to be some sort of conjunction. (Simon) Here we have a verb that was deciphered by Barb MacLeod that reads *hulij* meaning "to arrive here" (C5). This is not just any arrival, rather it is an arrival to the very place where this was carved. This glyph is followed by *Ox Witik* (D5) that up till now we thought was a Copan place name. (Nikolai) Well this glyph is composed of 2 different morphemes or roots: one that reads *wi* which means "root" and one that reads *tik* which is a plural suffix. Thus, *Ox Witik* means "3 Roots." The current interpretation is that this individual was probably arriving together with 3 roots or 3 different families. (Simon) Well, we will have to go through this to see whether this could still refer to a location or to a person who had arrived. The important thing anyway is that this seems to be the actual arrival event of an individual or individuals to Copan. By this portion in the text we have arrived in the year AD 427.

(Nikolai) What we are dealing with here are arrival events that are described in a very similar way in Aztec sources. This is exactly the way the Aztecs described their origins: for example "we came from Atzlan." This is basically the same idea of travel from a sacred place of origin to the place where the dynasty or the kings lived and reigned. (Simon) To summarize, we know that at AD 426 *K'uk' Mo' Ajaw* took the *K'awiil* scepter at the *Wi-Te Naah* and then he came from the *Wi-Te Naah*. Later after some 153 days, there is an arrival at or with the *Ox Witik*. The thinking here is that while all of these events were going in association with the crowning and the assumption of power, it took 153 days before they arrived at Copan. Although they could have come from the Peten if we suppose the *Wi-Te Naah* is the same one that *Yax Nuun Ayiin* founded at Tikal, there certainly would have been enough time to come down from Teotihuacan if they were so inclined. It is more likely that we are dealing with something similar to the Q'uche who talk about going to Tollan to receive the instruments of power. It is possible that they are referring to this as a proto-typical master *Wi-Te Naah* in Teotihuacan.

(Nikolai) This is similar to the *Xiu* Family Tree that I showed you earlier. The Founder is the one pictured at the root of the tree. (Barbara MacLeod Comments Here) (Nikolai) Barbara says that in the *Xiu* Family Tree, the tree actually grows out of the groin of the Founder and so this may be a representation of the penis.

(Simon) The rest of this text leaps into contemporary time and so we are not going to talk about it.

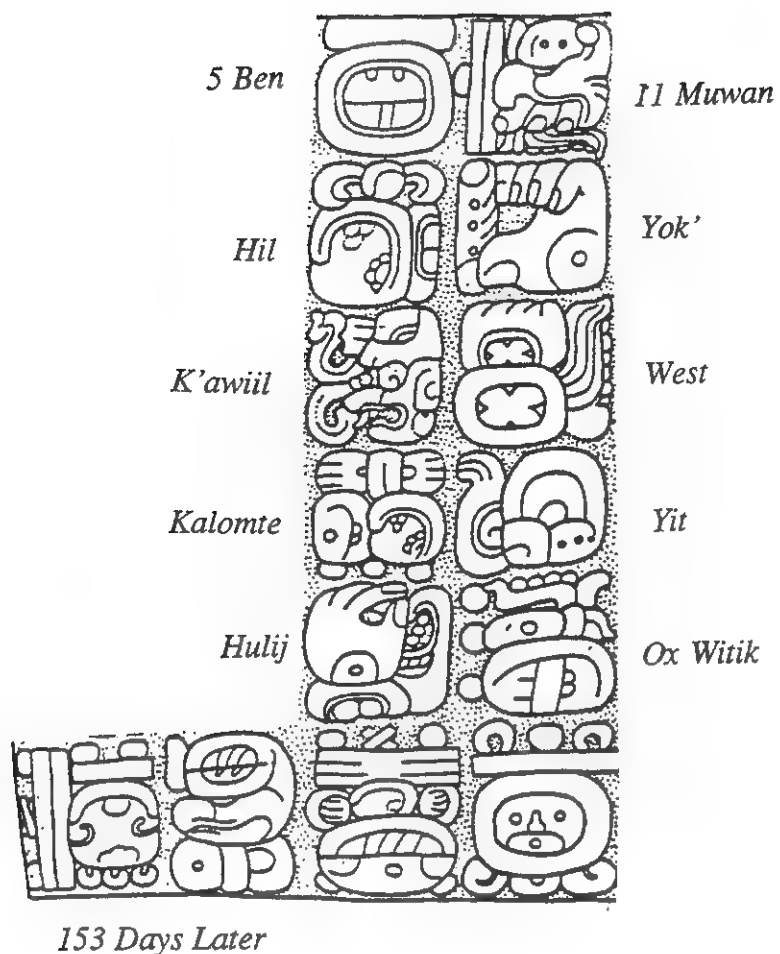


Figure 61. The Text of Copan, Altar Q (Drawing by Linda Schele).

(Nikolai) This is Zoomorph P from Quirigua (Fig.62). What I am about to show you was first proposed by Andrea Stone. Zoomorph P also recounts the same figure together with the same date. The text begins here with the same 5 *Kaban* (A1) 15 *Yaxk'in* date (B1) that we saw on Altar Q describing the year AD 426. While Altar Q records the "taking of the K'awiil" at the Founding House, here we are told that i "and then" *tali* "to come from" (A2). This is the same "arrival" verb: "and then he came from there." The place where he started his voyage was the Founder Place "*Wi-Te Naah*" (B2). Three days later on 8 *Ajaw* (C1) 18 *Yaxk'in* (D1) which is exactly 8.19.10.11.0, there were 2 different events going on at Quirigua. Here we have the glyph for *u-tz'apwa* (a transitive verb) "he plants or erects into the ground" (C2) *tun* "a stone" (top of D2). Thus the first sentence reads, "he erects the stone." We then get another sentence. It begins with an *u* prefix followed by a hand. From Maudslay's photographs and from checking this against the original monument, it is clear that these are not 3 dots here above the hand. For a long time, Linda Schele, myself, and others thought that the 3 dots referred to the 3 stones of creation. However, this is not the case. This is a "knot" and there is also a *li* suffix attached to the bottom of the hand. So, this glyph reads *u-k'al hu'un* "He binds the Royal Headdress." Well, this is a common accession expression. The person who is tying on the headdress is mentioned here (E1-F1) and he does this *u-kabiy* "by the doing of" or "by the action of" or "under the supervision of" (E2). The next glyph cannot be read, but it could be a possessed title (F2). However, this title probably related to *K'uk' Mo' K'inich* himself (E3) or someone related to him. Remember, *K'uk' Mo' K'inich* is the Founder of Copan. What this means is that the king of Quirigua acceded to power "under the supervision of" or "by the doing of" *K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo'*. This is one of many accessions that we see recorded in the inscriptions that takes place under the auspices of a super-king. This is clearly a sign of a hierarchy. What this means is that during the same time as the Founding of Copan took place, *Yax K'uk' Mo'* also had someone sent out to Quirigua in order to supervise the accession of the local king. Quirigua was probably founded as a colony of Copan in order to have better control of the trade routes or trade connections that go from the Highlands, specifically from Kaminaljuyu all the way along the Motagua Valley down to the Caribbean Sea. Finally, here we have the Copan emblem glyph (E3) and here we have the *Witik* (second part of F3).

The name of the first king of Quirigua to accede under the auspices of *K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo'* is read something like *Yo-ol To-ko* and the "casper" glyph of unknown reading (E1-F1). He is nicknamed *Tok Casper*. We get this same combination of signs on a fragment from the Copan Hieroglyphic Stairway. The Hieroglyphic Stairway from Copan has a step that talks about this same event: the accession of this particular Quirigua king at Copan. It is quite interesting to think about the wider context and the political implication of this mention. This part of the Hieroglyphic Stairway (I think Stair 6 or 7) was probably built after the killing of *Waxaklajuun Ub'aah K'awiil*. The rhetoric of the Hieroglyphic Stairway was to say "in ancient times Quirigua belonged to us." It was meant to state that that Quirigua was a part of the Copan territory. This rhetoric became important in a time of intense conflict between Quirigua and Copan which culminated in the capture of *Waxaklajuun Ub'aah K'awiil* in AD 736 by *K'ak' Tiliw*. The Copanecs wanted to make it clear that Quirigua, which by that time was an enemy of Copan, was originally theirs.

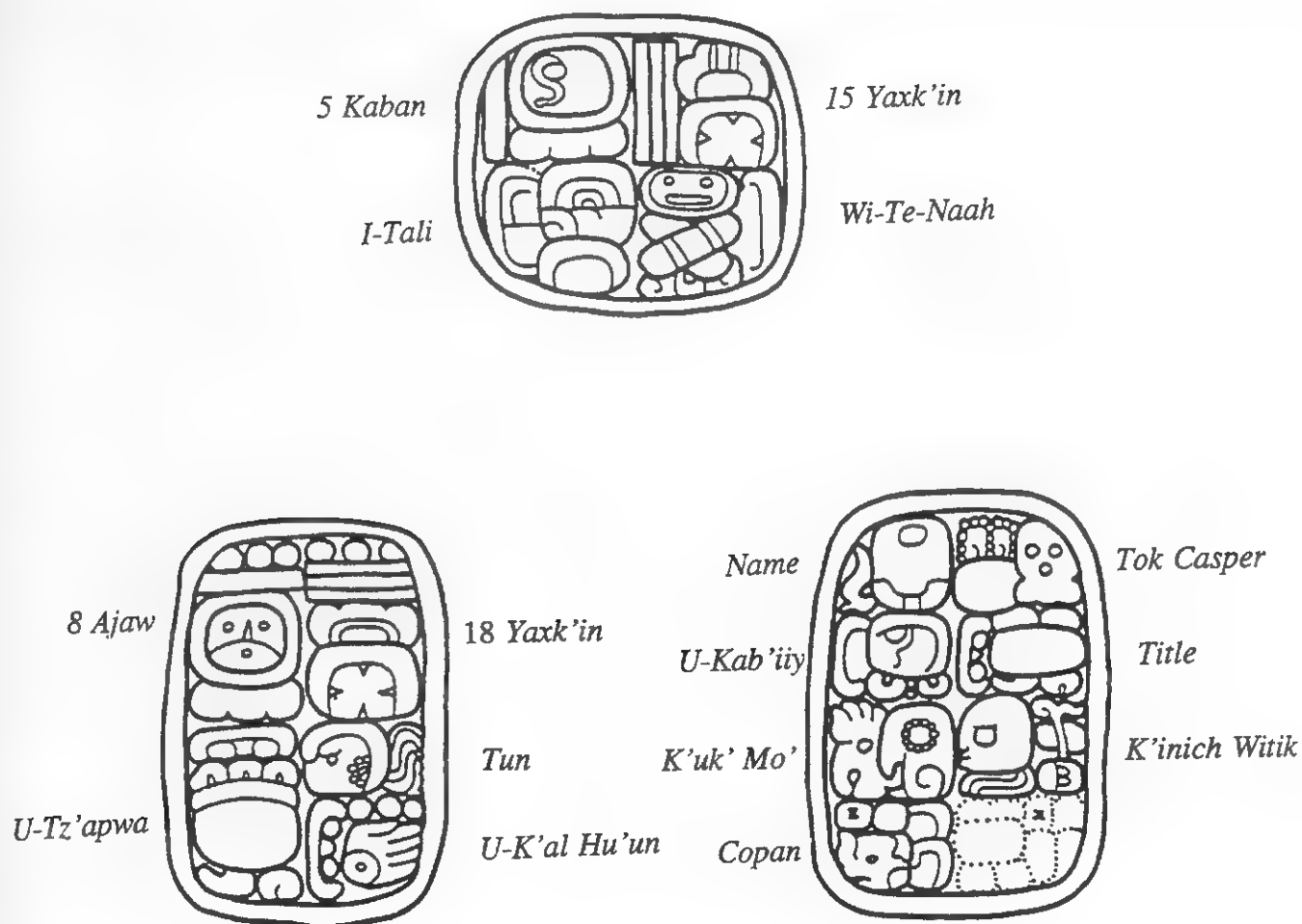


Figure 62. Quirigua, Zoomorph P (Drawing by Matt Looper).

(Question: At this point, *K'uk' Mo'* is not the king of Copan, is that right?) (Nikolai) It is difficult to reconstruct this event. It is possible that at this time *K'uk' Mo'* received the Copan emblem glyph retrospectively. (Simon) This would have been the date that *Yax K'uk' Mo'* seized the *K'awiil* (A1-B1) because the second date records the accession of the Quirigua king. However, if the interpretation that they only just leave the *Wi-Te Naah* on that date is correct, then it would suggest that this event happened on the same day as the actual "leaving." Thus, this happened at a distant place, not at Quirigua.

(Nikolai) Well, let's have a short break now before we start with the last section of our presentation.

Break 3:30 to 3:50 PM

## THE EARLIEST HIEROGLYPHIC INSCRIPTIONS

(Nikolai) We have finally arrived at the third part of our presentation for today. Now we would like to look at some of the contemporary texts from the Late Preclassic and Early Classic Periods. We have talked about the Maya's own conception of the Preclassic and Early Classic Periods. We will come back to the issue we discussed earlier today on whether the Maya had an emic distinction between Preclassic and Early Classic Periods. Later today, we will summarize our ideas on this subject. However, before we get to that we would like to talk a little bit about contemporary texts from the Late Preclassic into the Early Classic Periods.

Most of these texts are undated and many of them were not found in controlled archaeological excavations. Therefore, because of the lack of chronological information, it is difficult to say when they were actually carved and produced. However, some of these inscriptions can be dated stylistically and a few of them have actually been uncovered in archaeological contexts. For example, here is an inscription that was uncovered in an archaeological context. This is Kaminaljuyu Stela 10 (Fig.63). The text from Stela 10 is probably the largest surviving text of what must have been a larger Preclassic writing tradition in the Highlands of Guatemala. This tradition incorporated places like Abaj Takalik, El Baul, and Kaminaljuyu. There are also many other monuments that show signs of writing, unfortunately the quality of the stone was poor and most were lost to erosion. Stela 10 is a text that virtually every epigrapher has seen. Notice here, we have 2 different drawings of the same text. The text on the right was drawn by Federico Fahsen and the one on the left was drawn by David Mora-Morin who has actually seen the text and checked it against the monument. There are slight tiny differences when you compare them. I don't think that we can say a lot about the reading of this text. However, what we can observe the reading order for this early monument, which was carved probably in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, if not earlier, say perhaps the 3<sup>rd</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. Here we have a number recorded here (E1) followed by a *winal* glyph (F1). This would imply that both of these glyphs belonged together as they should be and so we would have to read this text in double columns. Thus, we are already in the reading order of the Late Classic Period. There is another glyph that I find interesting recorded on this monument. Here (H7) we have a *hu'un*-knot from the Late Classic Period. In addition, this knot contains a *na* suffix. If you can use the same readings that we have for these signs from the Classic texts here we would have *hu'un na*. This is an indication that we are dealing with a language that comes from the Western group of Maya languages, not an Eastern Maya language. Therefore phonetic complementation may help to confirm that the people who recorded this text at Kaminaljuyu probably spoke a Ch'olan language. This idea has been proposed by people such as Federico Fahsen; however, other people say that Kaminaljuyu was populated by speakers of Mije-Sokean. Still there are others who say that Kaminaljuyu was populated by speakers of languages that were the precursors to the Highland languages. There is not much more we can say about this text.



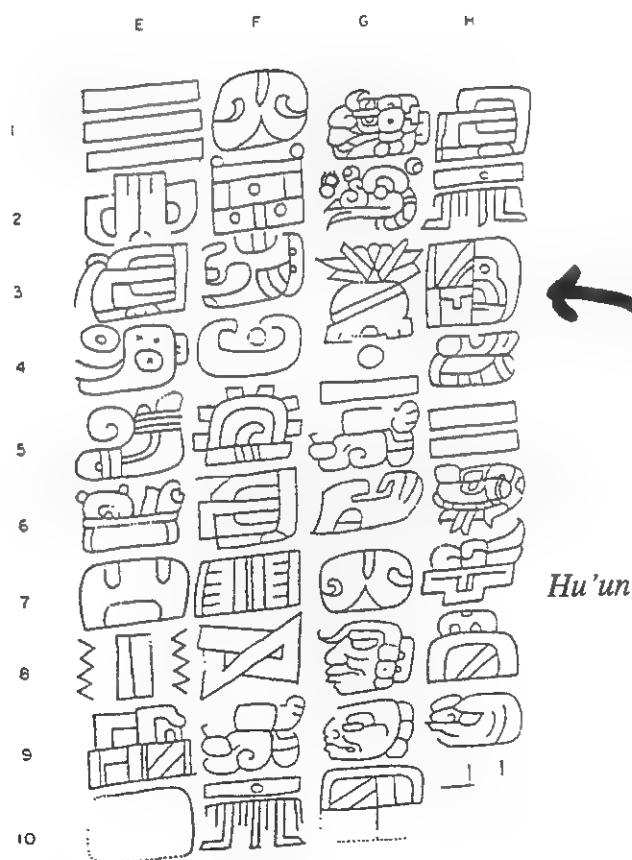


Figure 63. The Text of Kaminaljuyu Stela 10 (Left Drawing by David Mora-Morin, Right Drawing by Federico Fahsen).

The Stela 10 text and this small earplug text are the only examples we have from the Highlands (Fig.64). This incised jadeite earplug comes from the site of Kaminaljuyu. I am sure that you all can recognize this glyph as the one for "step" (A5). Here we have a *xok* sign (A6) and so together we have *Eb' Xok* which is the name of the Founder of Tikal dynasty. This could be the same figure because this text could be contemporary; however, it is impossible to say. This earplug could have also been a trade object that for some reason ended up at Kaminlajuyu. (David Mora-Morin comments here that the glyph at A3 is similar to H2 of the Kaminaljuyu text. In addition, the glyph at A3 is one that also appears on other Preclassic texts, in particular on a jade spoon.) (Nikolai) I'm not sure that we can say anything else about this text.

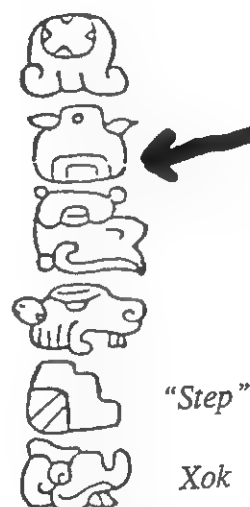


Figure 64. Incised Jadeite Earplug.

Well, probably at this same time, the sculptural tradition of glyphs appearing on carved monuments began in the Lowlands. Richard Hansen has uncovered numerous monuments now both at Nakbe and El Mirador and at other sites. Richard has observed that the most ancient of these monuments, are those found or associated with Late Middle Preclassic architecture. Most of these monuments including this one, Nakbe, Monument 1, (Fig.65) are extremely big in size. There seems to have been a trend to start out with grand monuments and the later monuments from the Late Preclassic Period are greatly reduced in scale and become miniature monuments, almost portable measuring just about a meter or so high. Nakbe, Monument 1 only features iconography and so we won't really be talking about it in any detail.

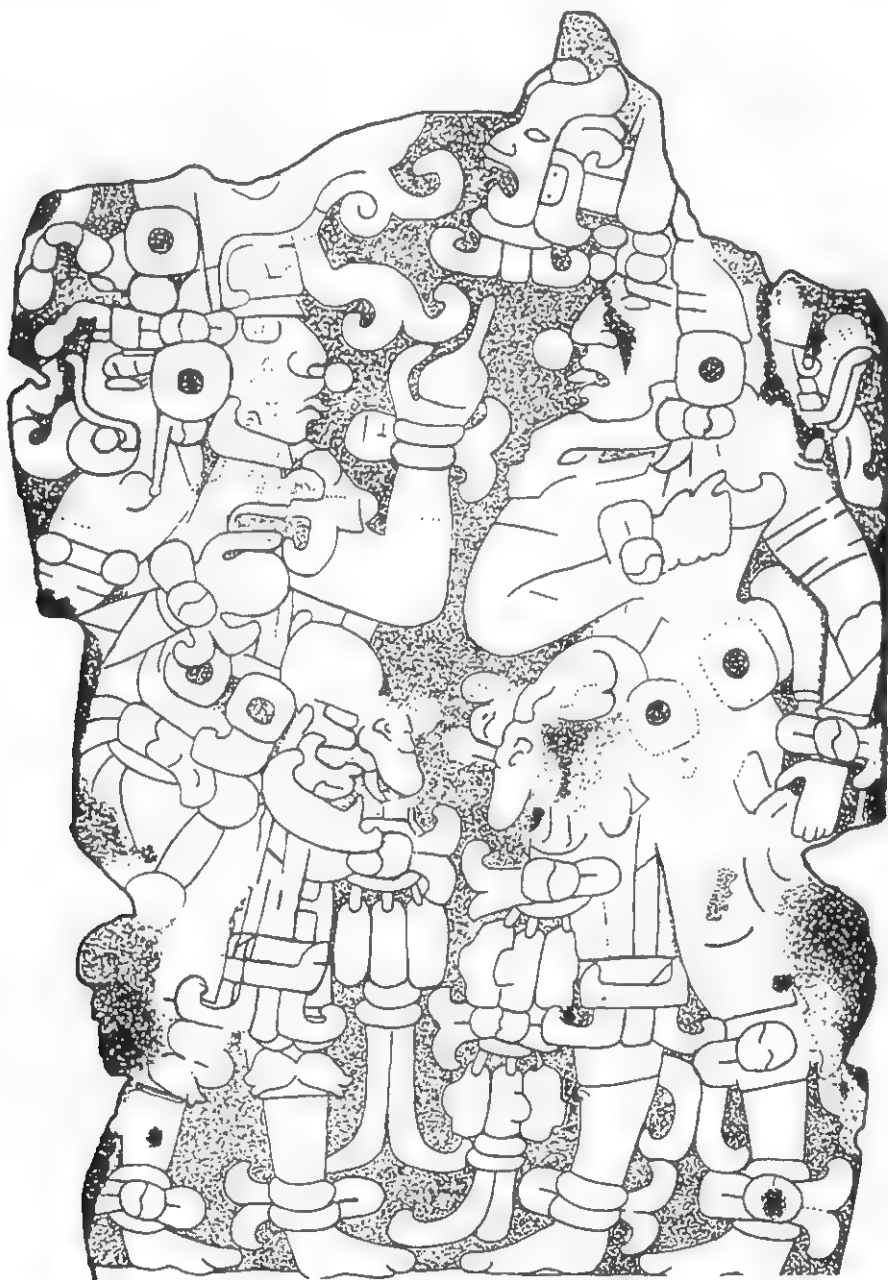


Figure 65. Nakbe, Monument 1 (Drawing by Richard Hansen).

I would now like to point out something that has been recognized by Steve Houston and others. Many of these early texts seem to include lists of names or nominals that have no clear reading order. The majority of the Late Preclassic texts that I am referring to are ones found on portable objects. These include texts on bone-letters, on conch shells, and other portable precious items. The distribution of these early inscribed portable objects can illuminate a lot about the economic foundations of the elite and they can tell us about their trade. They can also tell us a lot about the power and prestige of giving away inscribed celts that contain texts which probably mention their names and genealogies.

This is a green-stone celt from Hatzcab' Ceel, Belize (Fig.66). This celt was broken into 3 pieces. As you can see, there is no clear reading order. We would expect to read this text in perhaps in a single column or in double columns. However, no matter what you do, the reading order just does not really work out, although the last 2 glyphs show up on other celts or on other portable objects from the Early Classic and Preclassic Period again and again. This compound consists of a *ya* sign followed by an *ak'ab'* logograph (A5) and another sign that probably reads *b'ah* (B6). In most cases, the *b'ah* sign is in first position and the *ak'ab'* in the second position. (David Mora-Morin comments here that the glyph at B5 appears to be recording an "axe event" and thus it might refer to "*Chak*." ) (Nikolai) I'm not sure if you all heard David here, but he thinks the text is to be read in single columns. Here we have an "axe" glyph followed by *b'ah*. *Chak B'ah* is known from Late Classic texts as the word for "to decapitate." This could be the intended meaning of this last group of hieroglyphs which would support that notion that the text was to be read in single columns. In addition, David mentioned that the jaguar head recorded here at B2 was never finished due to an inclusion in the stone and thus, this head was recarved at B3.

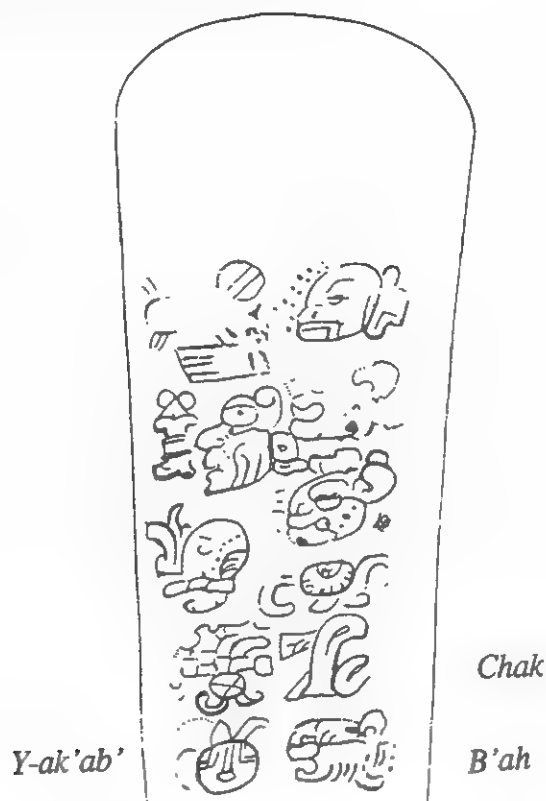


Figure 66. Green-Stone Celt from Hatzcab' Ceel (Drawing by Nikolai Grube)..

(Simon) Let's now look at the Dumbarton Oaks Jade Pectoral (Fig.67). What's interesting here is that we can make some stylistic correlation between the text and the image. The scene that was attached to this text has a number of formulaic costume elements and other regalia that helps date this piece to the Late Preclassic Period. The particular style of this text is interesting because of its problematic grammatical structure. We need these kinds of stylistic comparisons to see the development of iconography in terms of texts. Looking at this piece is very much like looking at early dynastic Egyptian texts where they haven't really quite sorted out how the writing system worked. They had the basic principles, but they were still in the early stages of what would later evolve into a full borne writing system. That's sort of the same way this text feels.

David Mora-Morin already took you through this text, but here we have an early dedication phrase or PSS statement (A1) followed by the "step" verb (B1). To me this is still slightly mysterious, but David argues that these 2 (B2-A3) glyphs may be a verb with the second part recording a *pa* form of the verb (A3). Here we have a glyph with 3 lobes (B3) and this is very much like the jade mask from Burial 85 at Tikal. The image is basically a single leaf that has been turned into 3-pronged leaf, very much like the ones David Freidel found on the masks at Cerros. Here we have a proto-typical "seating" glyph (A5) followed by an early form of the *ajaw* glyph (B5). Here is the nominal phrase (A6-B6) and again, the main sign is one that we see on the front side of this jade. The name includes a bird with cross-banded eyes. Here you can see that glyphic principles like infixation has started by this early time. The text continues with a repeated element here (C1: repeats with B2) that introduces a "bat" head (D1). We do not know yet the true origins of the "carving" glyph; however, there is a possibility that this may be a logographic form of the "bat-head" sign relating to "incision". This may in fact refer to the re-carving of this pectoral. This again, may just be a *pa* syllable (D4). Here we have the same glyph that Nikolai just pointed out to you (C6) that reads *ya-ak'ab'*. Therefore, we really cannot really read any more of this text than we could in the 1980's but I think the overall context of the text is better understood and so we can start to feel our way within the creation and development of the Maya writing system. (Question: Is this a *ch'ab'* glyph (C5)?) (Nikolai) Yes. This is the glyph that we have considered to be a "bloodletting" hieroglyph. The *ch'ab'* seems to be supported by an early form of the *b'ah* glyph (D5).

(Simon) I think one of the problems here in examining these early pieces is that if we rely on the assumption that the diagnostic elements of this text evolved and survived into the Late Classic (which is a legitimate approach), than we may miss the fact that certain diagnostic elements died out. Perhaps we are seeing some of that here in a sort of prototypical stage. What we really need is more texts because I think the individual similarity of one sign to another is less important than its context. If you can demonstrate that 2 or better yet 3 signs repeat in a sequence, than you can start to say what is the key diagnostic features of these early signs.

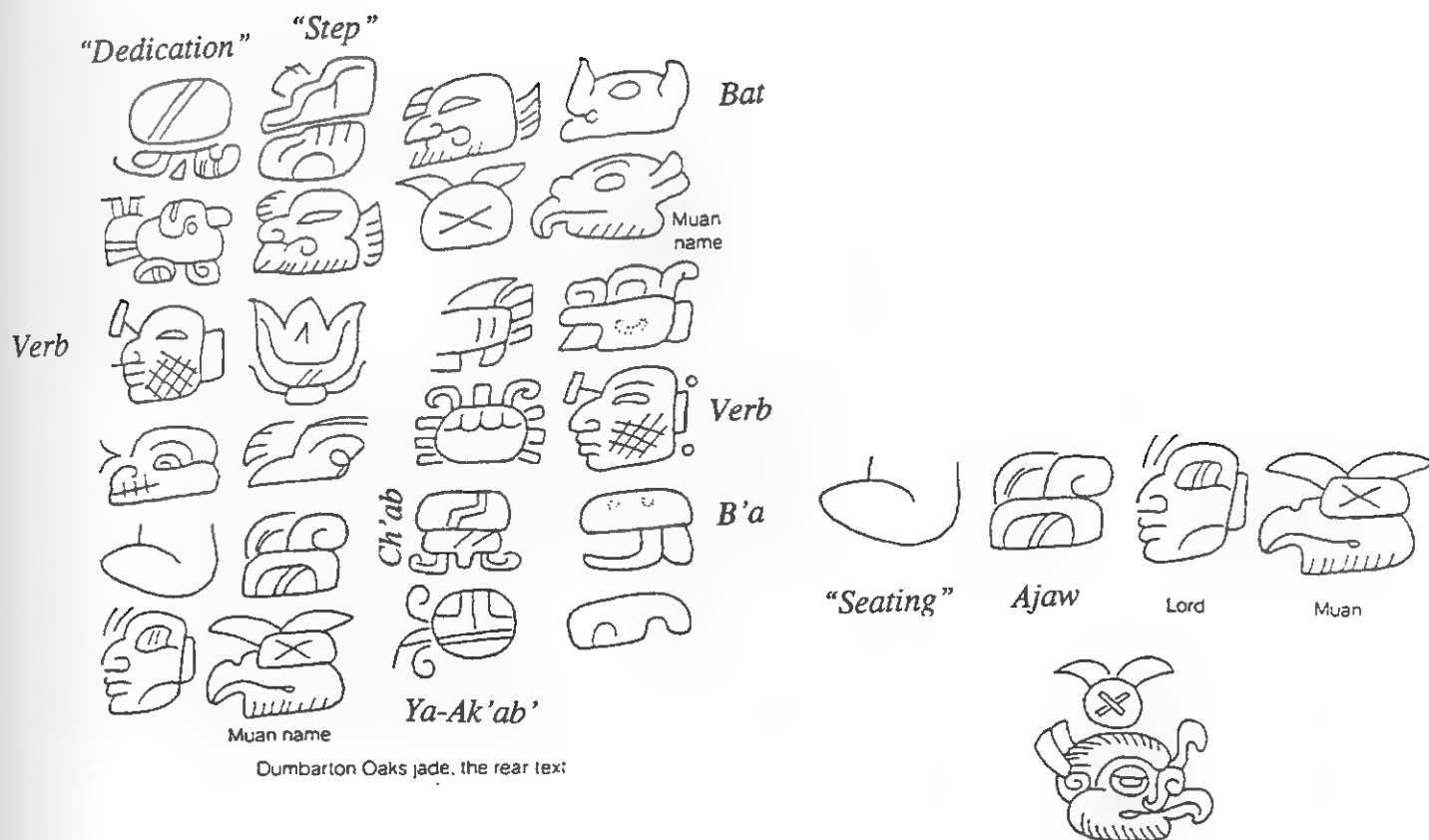


Figure 67. Dumbarton Oaks jade Pectoral (Drawing by Linda Schele).

One of the other problems when dealing with these early texts, besides their archaeological context, is determining how old they really were since many of these objects were heirlooms. Without datable characters or other specific information, the dates of these early texts remain uncertain.

(Nikolai) Well let's continue with another early text from this transitional period between the Late Preclassic and Early Classic Period. Some of these texts are quite transparent. Many of them seem to be simple nametags. This is a beautiful incised conch-shell trumpet that probably dates to the Early Classic Period (Fig.68). The shell features a portrait of a young lord emerging from the mouth of an avian creature that resembles a *Xook* Monster. Located next

to this image is a short nametag. Here we have the hieroglyph *u* followed by a large *yu* sign (A1). All of this seems to be the full-form of the *yu* syllable (A1) and this is the *bi* syllable (A2). Thus, together this reads *u-yuub'* with a long vowel. *U-yuub'* is the word for "his conch-shell" or "the conch-shell trumpet of". Following this we have a title that may include *K'inich* (A3) and here we have the glyph for *ajaw* (A4). This hieroglyph is probably also part of the name of the individual (A5). It appears to be same bird that we see depicted in the figure's headdress.

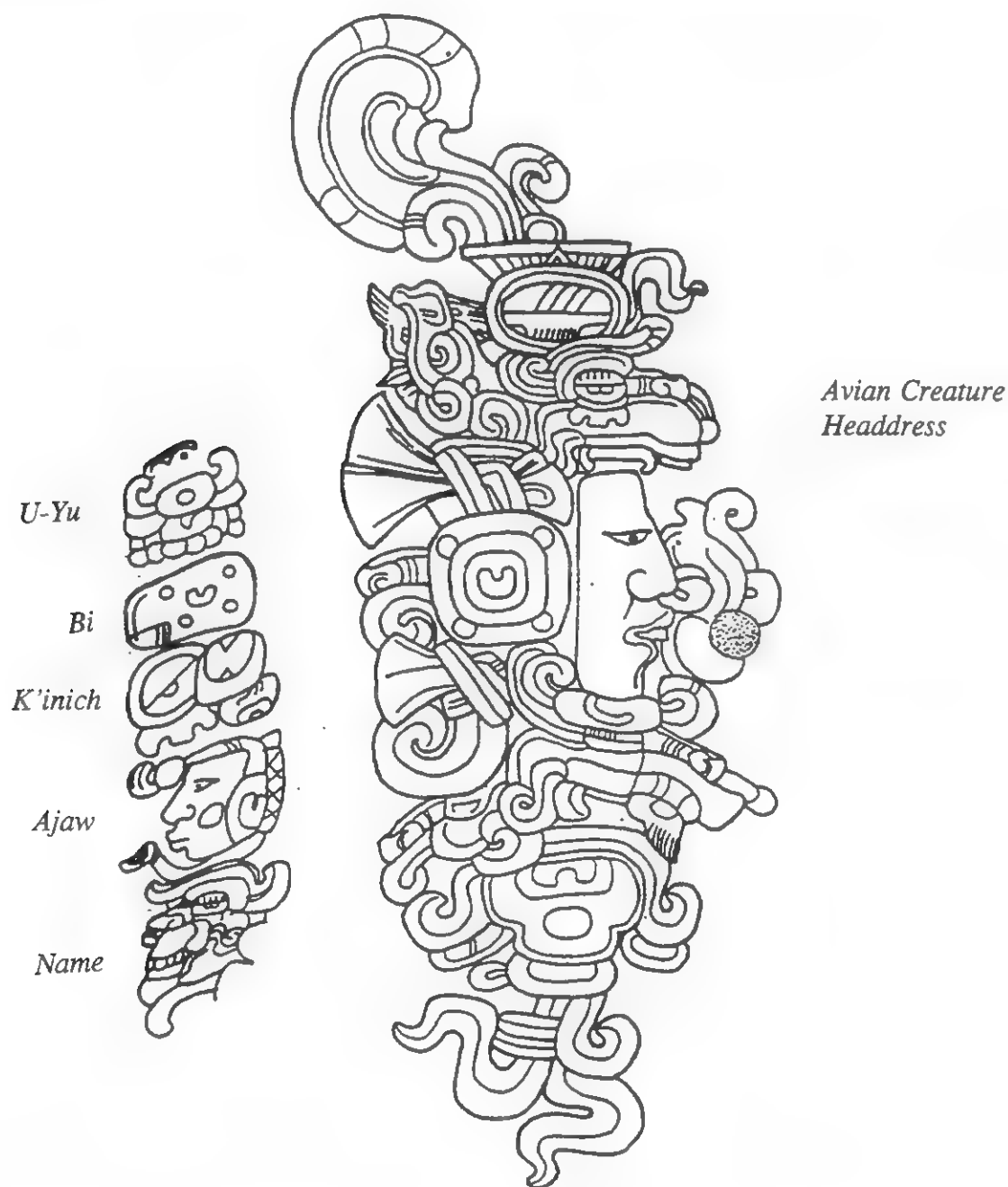


Figure 68. Early Classic Incised Conch-Shell Trumpet (Drawing by Linda Schele).

Here we have a text from a jade found in the cenote at Chichen Itza (Fig.69). The text begins with another dedication verb (A1) that also appears on both the Mot Mot Marker and on the Ante Stair from Copan. This appears to be some sort of dedication verb that as of yet eludes decipherment. What follows is the *yu* sign and another *yu* sign (A2) to spell *y-uy* meaning "his necklace" or "it was the necklace of." All of the rest of the text appears to record the name and titles of the owner. Most of these early texts seem to record nametags.

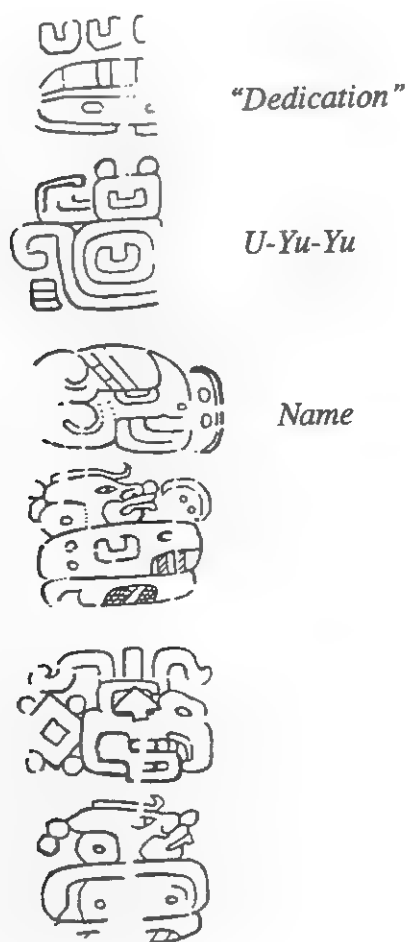


Figure 69. Incised Jade Text from the Cenote at Chichen Itza (Drawing after Proskouriakoff).

Here we have a text from a very unusual object conch-shell trumpet (Fig.70). Yesterday, Simon and I were talking about the function of this object and I realized that I had a full drawing of this object. The text is difficult to read, but the first part here (A1) is a *yu* syllable followed by a sign that features an open mouth with a *ha* sign in it. The glyph probably reads *y-uk* or *y-uk'ib* meaning "his drinking thing" or "his drink." (Question: Where do you get the glottalized *k*?) Well, the idea here is that the big mouth, the ones we often find in Classic texts, is used as a logograph to indicate that someone is drinking. Here in this example that I



have drawn, we have a mouth that contains the logographic sign *wa* meaning "to eat." Thus, the sign here represents a "tamale" and so he is eating. Here, since we have a "water" sign he is drinking. The head in each of these cases is generic and so you can put all sorts of things in the mouth to indicate an action. Here the *wa* sign functions as a logographic sign *we* meaning "to eat."

Now what kind of drink was this object used for? The text states that the vessel was used for *kakaw* (A2) The glyph is spelled with a portrait of a fish and notice the 2 signs in front to indicate that the sign is to be reduplicated (*ka-ka*) and this is *wa*. The name of the owner and all of his titles are recorded in the next 4 glyphs (A3-A6).

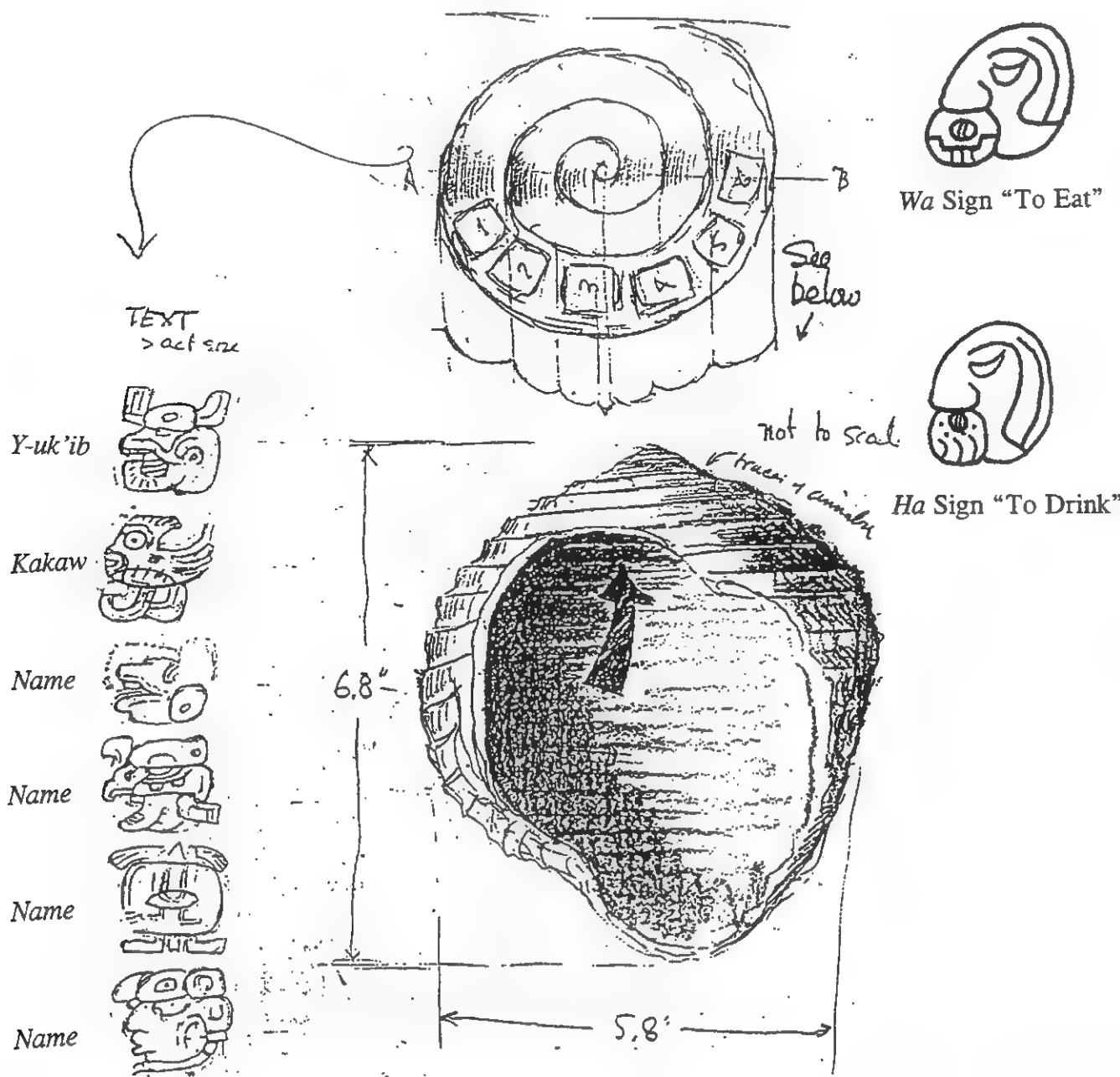


Figure 70. Incised Conch-Shell Trumpet. Private Collection.

Here is another beautiful text from an incised shell bead (Fig.71). The text starts with the syllable *yu* and a head that features a "skull" sign and markings for "darkness" on its forehead. In front of this sign is a knot and so together this is the syllable *ha*. The glyph spells the word *y-uuh* meaning "his necklace" or the "necklace of." Following this glyph are the names and titles of the owner; however, this glyph here (A3) may refer to the shell itself since a shell glyph is depicted that probably also featured an *u* sign in front. This would indicate that the Maya scribe who carved this piece used a double possession to indicate ownership. In addition, David Mora-Morin believes that the turtle carapace is probably a generic expression for "shell." The text continues here (A5) with *u-kab'iy* "by the doing of" and then we get another name (A6). Unfortunately, the text does not help us determine who these figures were.

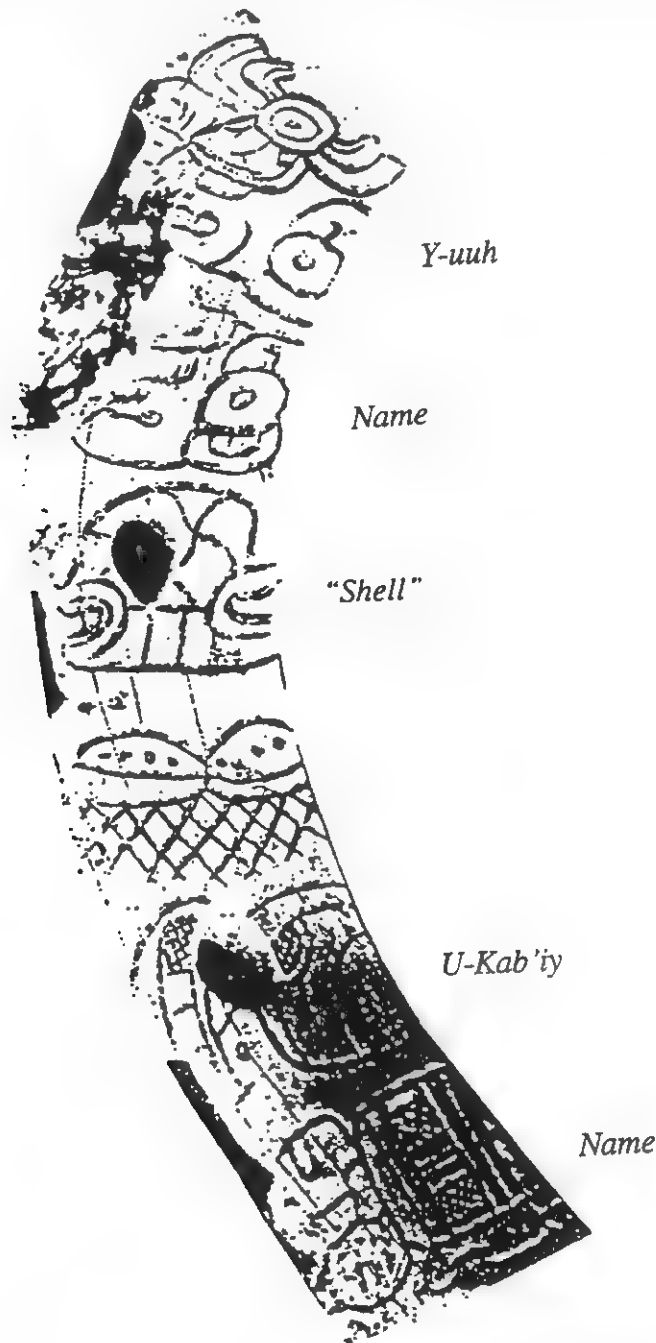


Figure 71. Incised Shell Bead.

The text featured here comes from a beautiful turtle carapace (Fig.72). The text is carved on the underside of the carapace. The text also starts with a self-referential and dedicatory text. The first sign reads *yu* and the second sign, which is not in your syllabary, should be added as the sign for *ha*. Together they spell the word *y-uuh*, which is the possessed form of "his necklace" or "his bead." It's not clear as to why this glyph was used on a such an object. The glyph that follows is the glyph for "grandfather" or "ancestor" *mam* (B1) and so it was the "bead of the grandfather or ancestor." A name was probably recorded here (A2-B2) and notice here (A3) we have a *y-ajawte*. The *y-ajawte* is a very common title and it is also another one of the *te* titles. *Y-ajawte* means "the lord of the tree" and *te* is a metaphor for "family" and so he is simply a "family-lord" or the "elder of the family." This is probably how the title originated. Originally, this was a title used by lineage lords or by family lords and later it became a term for kings. Following this glyph we have a name recorded here (B3) that happens to be the same name as Animal Skull of Tikal. (Simon) However, the style of this suggests that this must be someone completely different. (Nikolai) This might be a parentage expression here (A4) written as "the son of" and here we have the name and titles of another person here (B4-B6). (David Mora-Morin states here that the last glyph of this text also appears on the Dumbarton Oaks Pectoral).

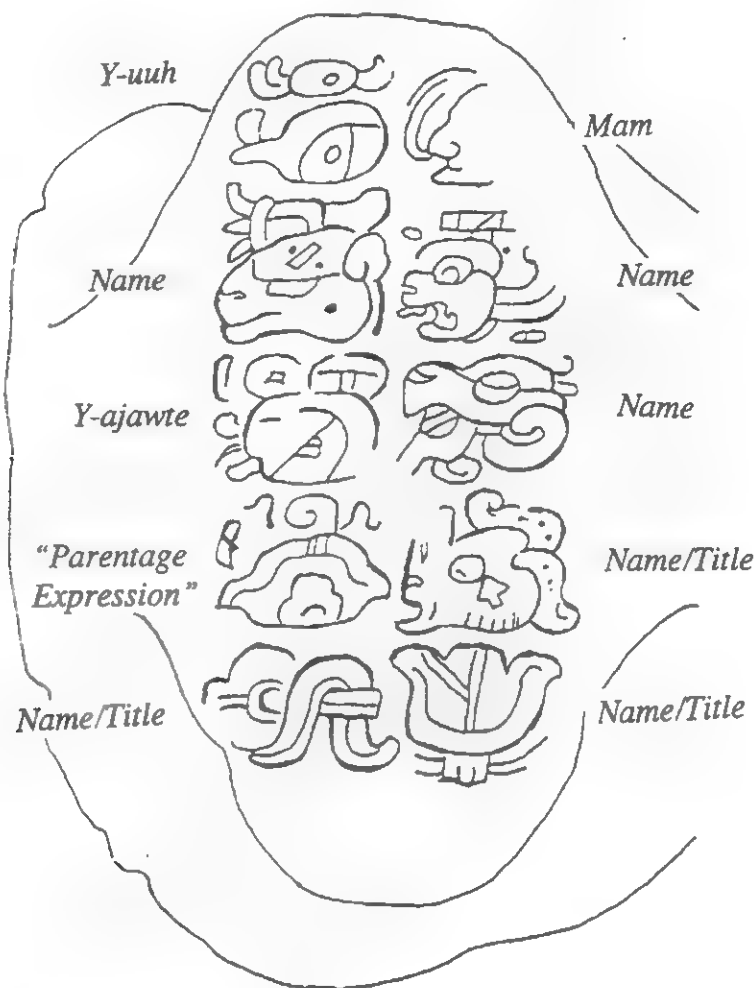


Figure 72. Inscribed Turtle Carapace (Drawing by Linda Schele).

This is another self-referential text. This text comes from a jade celt and both fragments may actually represent a single text (Fig.73). (David Mora-Morin mentions here that this text was incised on a shell.) (Simon) No, actually Justin Kerr has a beautiful photograph of this and its clearly jade or jadeite. This drawing is quite accurate. The head here (top sign of A1) is actually the same head recorded here (A2), not that this helps us understand its meaning! The first part of this text is talking about itself. This glyph has to be the name of the object (A1). We know that must be the case because here (B1) we have *u-k'ab'a*. Bob Wald was the first person to realize that this glyph was the full-form of *k'ab'a*. This is interesting because we had been distinguishing between a *k'uhul k'ab'a* as being a "divine name" without really seeing a pattern which separates them from *k'ab'a* that simply means "its name." Thus, this glyph (B1) means "the name of" and here (A2) we have another possessed object. The glyph is spelled *u-ka-ya wa-ka*. This same glyph appears on a jade celt from Rio Azul and it appears to be the word for "celt." This idea comes from David Stuart. Here on the Rio Azul celt you have the same glyph: *u-ka-ya-wa*. Although the spelling is a little different we have the same elements. The 2 fish signs for the syllable *ka* often stand for a single *ka* sign and so it's not possible to tell whether they really mean *ka* or *ka-ka*. In this case, because this doesn't seem to have a double *ka*, it may only be one *ka* for the word *kaywak*. One thing that is very interesting, that we do not have an illustration for here, is that on Tikal, Altar 5 there is an passage that refers to a woman who may come from Topoxte, her name is actually written with the same celt glyph. These sorts of dedication and possessed objects obviously do refer to the objects they are carved onto and although we have no dictionary references, this presumably must be the word for "celt." This portion of the text presumably records a nominal phrase (B2-B4). Here we have a *ch'am* glyph and so this was "held by" (A4).

(Nikolai) I think that this glyph will become important in our further discussion of the function of these objects. *Ch'am* means "to take" or "to receive." It is possible that what is implied here, though we do not understand the context of the text yet, is that this was a precious object that was in the possession of this person here. However, he had received it from someone else. The text seems to be referring to some sort of transaction. (Simon) The rest of the text does seem to record a series of names. Here's a macaw head (B6) and here's a beautiful hafted axe (B7). (Question: Is the bottom fragment really a part of the upper fragment?) I know that David Stuart drew this lower portion and I know that it's his idea that these 2 pieces were once joined.

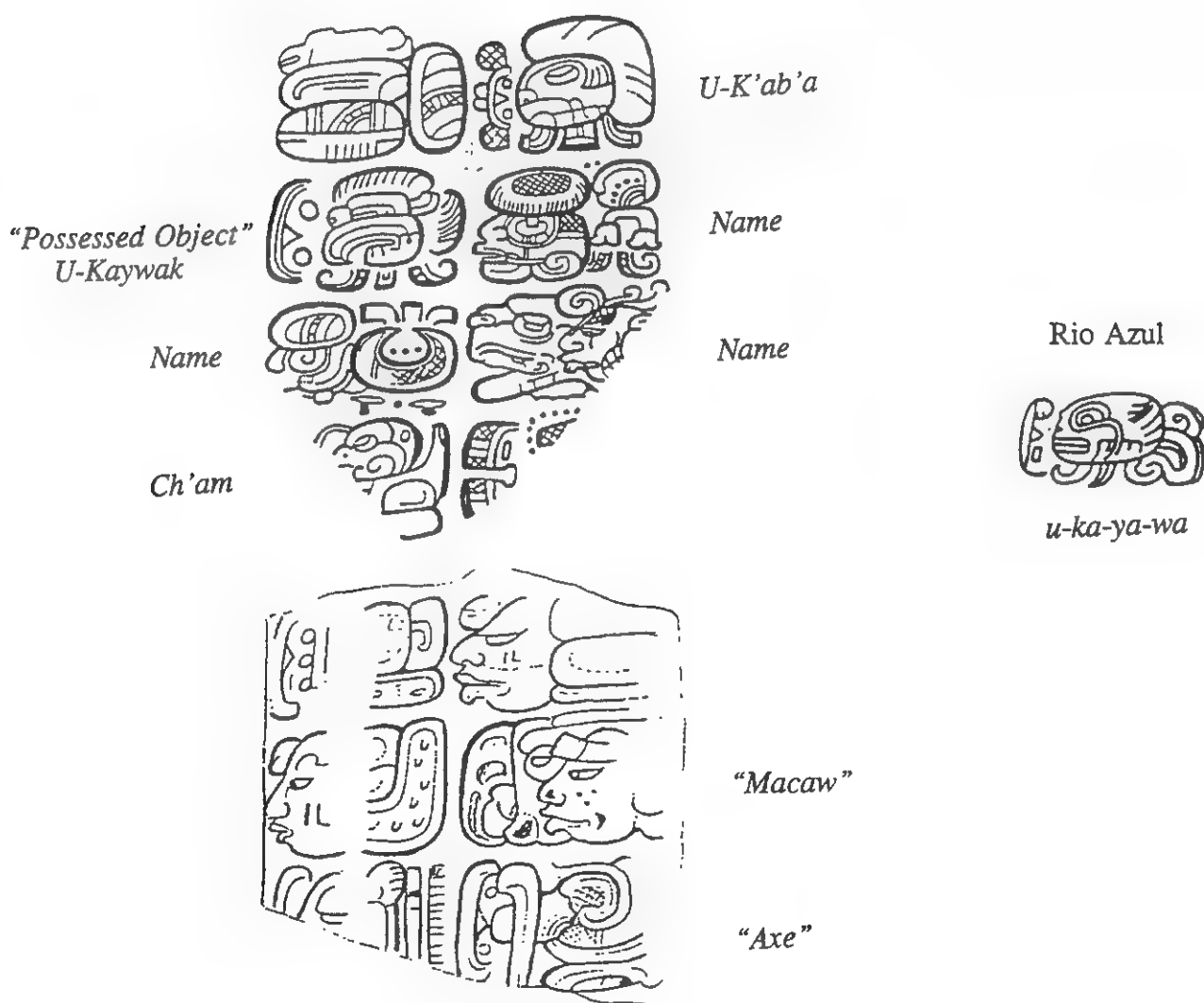


Figure 73. Jade Celt (Drawing by David Stuart).

(Nikolai) Although, rare, we do get more complex texts from the Early Classic Period.  
 (Simon) I can't help feeling that there were other ideas for some of these texts. This one is very open to interpretation. The Denver Art Museum sent me new photographs of this piece and I had a go at trying to write a description of it (Fig.74). Unfortunately, I could not add too much to the drawing that Dorie Reents-Budet had already drawn of it. There is a lot of uncertainty here about where the text starts, how many characters are involved, what the nature of the verb was, and what's the relevance of the pictured individual. So I am just going to pick out some of the highlights to see if perhaps we can figure this out together.

The text over here (B1) clearly starts with a verb. The verb is written with a hand holding a glyph that together is normally read as *al* that has a couple of different meanings. Sometimes it is used in "throwing" events and other times it's involved with "speaking." Unfortunately,

the context here is rather unclear. There is an *a* prefix in front of this complex sign to suggest that we have a glyph that reads *a-al ta*. The *ta* is there as a preposition, but it's linked to a location. Well, how do we know that it's a location? Because here is an early bone-form of the *ch'een* glyph (B3). Between the 2 glyphs is one that reads *ox witz* (B2) and this is the toponym of Caracol. This would seem to indicate that Caracol was the subject of this particular passage. The text then seems to record a sequence of people. In most Classic inscriptions people are separated by conjunctions of one kind or another or secondary verb phrases that really delineates the whole phrase that they appear in. However, in some Classic texts and it seems perhaps more commonly in these very early texts, we just don't get that because they understood the titles and the people so much better than we do, they didn't have much trouble separating who these people were. This glyph here (B4) seems to be the *mam* glyph. Although it can mean "grandfather" it is also used to as a sort of introductory form of a title referring to "ancestors" or "dead people" and in other contexts it just seems to refer to someone who is "venerable at a reasonably established age." Here we have the same glyph that we saw earlier on with this sort of reptile-like or beaked-head (B5). This is followed by a glyph that reads *Ehb' Xook* (B6) and a unique sign that appears in titular contexts elsewhere (B7). Here we have a head that depicts the Sun Lord: *K'inich* (B8). The last glyph, depicted with a pine torch atop a turtle shell may record *ta hal* (B9).

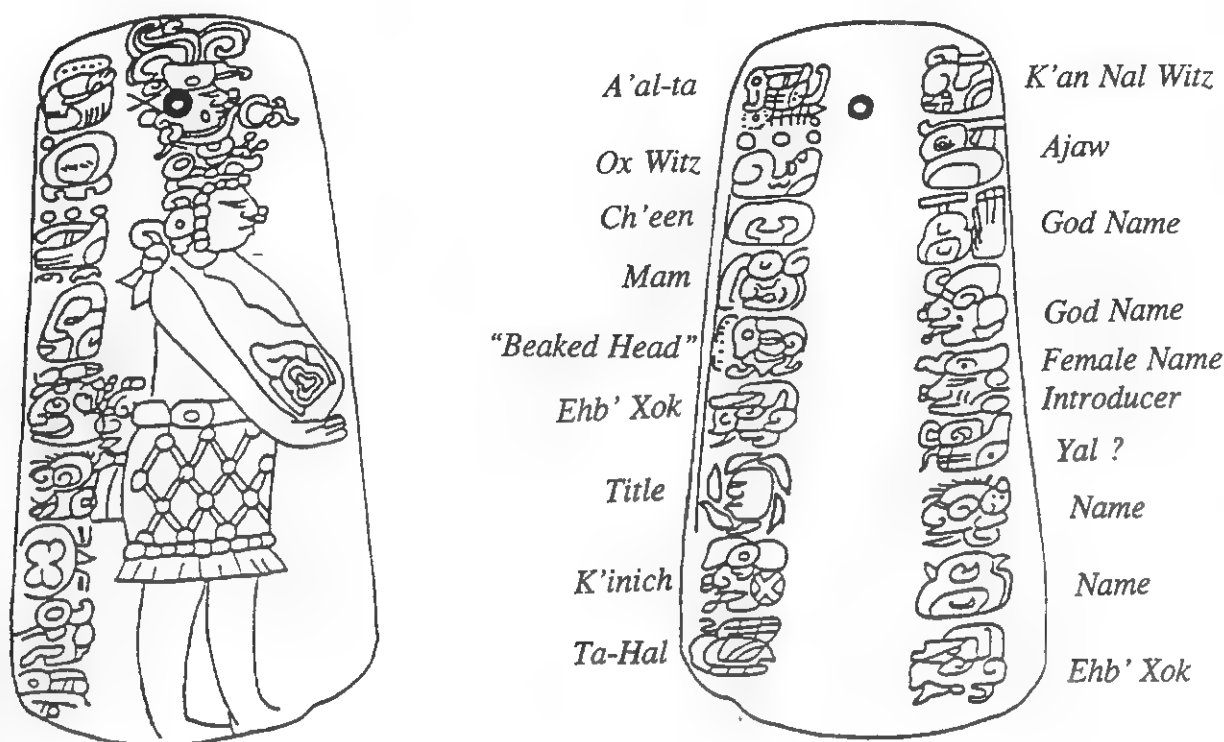


Figure 74. Jade Celt (Drawing by Dorie Reents-Budet).

Now if the text moves up here we have something far more interesting. Here we have a *nal* sign atop a *witz* sign that contains a *k'an* infix for the word *K'an Witz Nal* (C1): the ancient name of Ucanal. This is very likely an *ajaw* sign (C2) and so these 2 signs were linked stating that this person was an Ucanal Lord. Here I believe we have a division or a move to a new person (C3). There are 2 reasons for thinking that. First of all, the *ajaw* often, but not always, comes at the end of phrases and more importantly, what follows is a God name that otherwise is exclusively attached to women. This is the so-called "hi-ho" hand and it represents a fishy-kind of god. Thus, these 2 glyphs (C3-C4) form a pair. Once again, we would expect them to be attached to something else because here is the glyph that introduces female names (C5). Here we have a plausible female head with a bird head on top. However, this sign is more clearly recognized as an early form of the "star" sign. What you see in the portrait of the figure is precisely the same thing: the female head, the bird, and the Venus sign.

The next part of the text is far more open to interpretation. We would be naturally thinking of the possibility of a parentage statement recorded here as *yal* (C6). On the other hand, this sign is probably not *yal* because the prefix is depicted much more like flames and so it's probably part of a verbal expression. This passage ends with the name *Ehb' Xook* (C9). It is still very hard to make out the sense of this text, but it does appear to mention some sort of "talking" of "throwing event" taking place at Caracol. The person described here, as we have seen, is particularly associated with Tikal. Another name that might be a continuation or it might be a new person can be seen here as *K'inich Ta-Hal* (B8-B9) and he was a lord of Ucanal (C1-C2). This is then followed by a female name (C3-C6) and this is followed by the name of another male (C9).

Now let's look at the inscription on the front side of the celt (Fig.75). The text begins with *u-b'ah* (A1) *hun tan* (A2) and this is a very common introduction for a mother's name. However, this glyph can also be related to gods and in particular in cases where there is a series of gods being carried for a ruler. Very often you will see these figures being nourished or looked at. The text continues with *al* prefixed by the number 3 (A3) and here we have *k'u* or the God C head (A4). If this is the case, then we could have a pair of glyphs here that may refer to something that is being cared for as the "3 Something Gods." The text continues with another nominal phrase. This glyph (A5) looks like a bird sitting atop a jaguar head. Here we have a monkey-like head (A6) followed by a *K'in* sign for perhaps *K'inich* (A7). Finally, we have an *ajaw* sign here (A9).

Now turning to the figure, the person seems to be wearing a cape. In addition, the figure seems to be holding a 3-leaved proto-*ajaw* glyph; although it could be something actually woven onto the textile. (Someone from the audience mentions that perhaps this foliated *ajaw* sign is labeling a baby that's inside the bundle-like object the figure is holding.) (Simon) Absolutely! I had not thought of that! This could be a baby sling. (Nikolai) This could be a connection from the first part of the text to what she is actually doing. The position of care-taking or *hun tan* is something we also see in the Palenque stuccoes. Here she is taking care of something that is described as being divine and so the object inside this sling could be described by this particular hieroglyph.



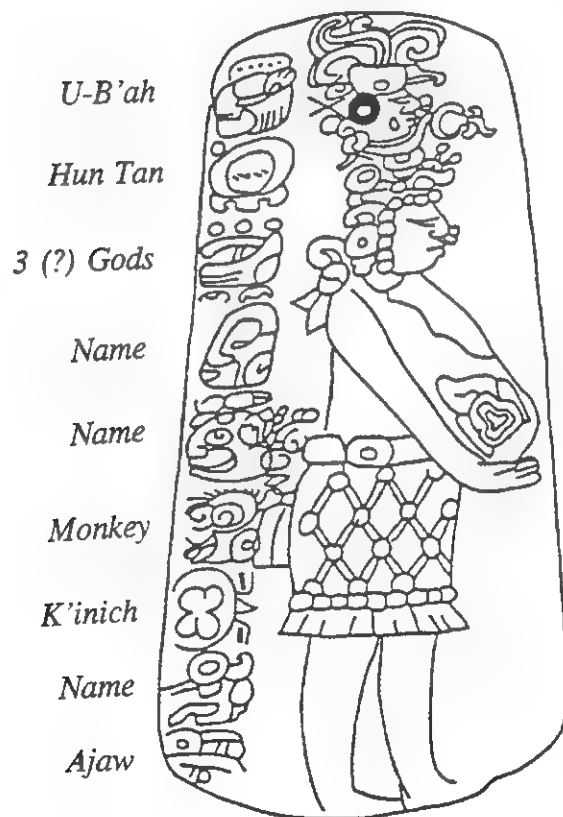


Figure 75. Jade Celt (Drawing by Dorie Reents-Budet).

Well, I think our time is pretty much up! However, we would like to summarize. Now our initial question was whether the Maya conceived a difference between the Preclassic Period and the Classic Period? Did the Maya recognize these periods as being different or are they just an archaeological construction? Over our lunch-break, we thought about this question and changed our mind a little bit, but came back to our initial idea. (Simon) We had thought about the *u-te* title and *Yax Ehb' Xook* and how they seem to refer to "trees." What we really hadn't thought about was the switch between 13 and 14 and the way that this does correspond so well with the history at Tikal. What we have to do is find a way of rationalizing the switch and the meanings of these numbers with the dynastic count because they are obviously working separately. On one hand they want to say "I am the Successor of or I am in the line of *Yax Ehb' Xook*," but those counts don't bear any relationship to their genealogy. I think that's interesting because it has been an assumption for a long time. The Maya were not using what we would call the Succession count for that kind of purpose. Instead, there are enough examples to think that these *te* glyphs may relate to different lineages. As far as we can see today at Tikal, these *te* titles are quite explicit in saying that this is a different family: that is the 14<sup>th</sup> different family that had been in power at Tikal. Now this doesn't necessarily mean that we are working with the same time-scale as the dynastic count because it is very hard to imagine given the fact that there were hundreds of years and they only switch from 13 to 14. So perhaps we are talking about genealogies that go back a long long way. In one way, the

kings (in what we call Classic kingship) seem to be saying that they started at a certain point. Well they know that this was not the beginning of their city.

(Nikolai) It's not the beginning of kingship. There were early *ajaws* since some early kings were called *ajaw* and *k'u ajaw*. Therefore, the institution of divine kingship existed before, but it became institutionalized in a different form, that we would call a dynastic kingship system, with the accession of the Founder of the current dynasty. The Maya were more interested in the Founder of the current dynasty than with anything else. (Simon) It is also possible to say now, if the *te* interpretation is correct that we are talking about "families." If we think about the number of *te*'s that show the possession of objects and personal names and thinking about why writing was necessary and why writing evolved, then the need to record genealogies and records that could have gone back hundreds and hundreds years may have been a clue as to the purpose of the writing system well before it was used on dynastic monuments.

(Nikolai) That is why names are so important on the jade celts. The earliest texts we get seem to record lists of names, names of objects, and relationships that include parentage statements. Many of the earliest examples of Maya writing are on portable objects that are probably given by kings to secondary lords. These objects seem to have been a form of sharing power and prestige incorporating other people such as secondary lords into a greater realm. Once we understand these texts and the distribution of these objects, we will be able to say more about the economic realm of these early kings.

(Simon) If they are saying it's the 14<sup>th</sup> dynasty to rule at Tikal, we can rationalize this as being something they devised and there wouldn't probably be anything we could say to contradict that. On the other hand, we couldn't dismiss the possibility that they had been keeping genealogies that went back for over 1,000 years and that they knew all of these people by memory. (Nikolai) They didn't need to write it in their books. (Simon) This could be something that was not recorded on stone at all. (Nikolai) They could have been recorded in books that were like Mixtec codices where the names were just painted atop of logographs. (Simon) They were simply saying so and so begot, so and so begot, etc. Then you would have to think about the social process. Why did the Maya have to do this? Why was this important to them? Like most chiefdom level societies at that stage, where hereditary power was gaining a strong foot-hold, lineage and relationships would be very important for manipulating power. You would probably want to be marrying into the right families. You would want to be able to prove that you really had the right to rule and there would have been a purpose behind constructing books for the most notable groups, rather than just for anybody given their dynastic purpose.

(Question: I think you need to take great care and be careful about how you use the terms "family, lineage, and dynasty" that you are switching back and forth from.) (Nikolai) At the moment we are switching back and forth because we do not really understand these contexts well enough and to the Maya they could mean very different things. Thus, when we talk about lineage we are talking about an institution that is derived from a clear identified ancestor and the term "family" is a much looser term. I think your warning is fair. I don't think we understand the concept of *te* in contrast to *ajaw* and to the count of *ajaw* titles enough. This may in fact be an excellent topic to investigate further during the Long Workshop.

(Kathryn Josserand) I would suggest that we start thinking of this "count of kings" as a "count of kings" rather than a "dynasty" because I think you are clearly showing that in the standard definition of "dynasty" we understand that it has a continuity of kinship and you're showing that to be untrue. So what we have is a "count of kings" who are the Successors and then we have a "count of families" and those are actually the "dynastic houses" now. (Nikolai) Right! Thus, there seems to be 2 different things here. The first is a "count of kings" on one side that is not the same as a dynastic count as it is commonly called in the literature, rather it is just a count of kings. In the count of kings you can have disruptions in the patrilineal or matrilineal succession. In a dynasty you couldn't. On the other hand, we have a count of families or a count of *te*'s which is probably not related at all. But it can be disrupted because when there is a change from one family to the next, it implies that there is a disruption in the family. These are what become the dynasties. If we can see how these dynasties interacted and those counts were linked to each other, it may help us to understand the development of dynastic kingship.

(Nick Hopkins) It might be safer to refer to the *te* as *te* without trying to translate it either as "dynasty" or "lineage." (Nikolai) Yes, probably. The idea that the tree is a word for "family" is now just a few hours old. (Nick Hopkins) I challenge you to come with any source outside this glyphic evidence that shows that *te* is the term for "family." You are inferring that based on epigraphic evidence, but you have to be careful because you don't really know what you're dealing with yet. It would probably be safer to use a neutral term rather than bias its translation. (Nikolai) I agree. I just wanted to share the potential enthusiasm with you all! Thank you very much!

**End of Day One 5:10 PM**

## **PART II: EPI-OLMEC HIEROGLYPHIC WRITING AND TEXTS**

**Presented by  
Terrence Kaufman and John Justeson**

**Sunday, March 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001**

### **INTRODUCTION**

(Peter Keeler: 9:00 AM) Well, we are going to continue now with the second half of our Double Feature! Here's the Double Features! It's La Mojarra! At least they could write unlike some of the other cultures of this area. I will now introduce to you our second Dynamic Duo: Son Harvest Lord and the Doc.

(John Justeson) Okay before we get started we wanted to basically acknowledge some of the people who have been involved in helping us to do this work. One of the fine people to help us with our work was Linda Schele who is still present with us. I got to know her back in 1975 at a meeting when I was a grad student making a presentation about dynastic alliance and succession in Mayaland. Linda was in the audience and at the end of the presentation she said "Well yes, but the relationship glyph you found means the opposite of what you said." Anyway, Linda was right! This tells you a lot about Linda. I was some unknown graduate student doing my first paper, co-authored with an unknown assistant professor, and Linda was spending her time engaging me. Linda was like that for her whole career and I think it got started while she was working with Peter Mathews, Floyd Lounsbury, and David Kelley. Linda didn't seem to know any better and so she replicated that philosophy at these meetings! That sort of conclusiveness has kept going! Anyway, we got started doing this work together here at these meetings in 1991. Martha Macri was the one who organized the session for the Long Workshop and that's how we started collaborating on it. We have been coming back to Texas ever since. Linda was a great supporter of this work and she knew what a lot of the arguments were. The one thing she kept nagging us about was how we really needed to get this stuff out. She insisted that we write up our findings so that people will have the material to work with both to see why we came up with what we did, but also to find alternatives. It was hard to extract this out of us, but Linda organized this session and I think it was the last one that she had a hand in planning. It was only about a week or two ago that I realized she picked us and so that's why you have these texts here today. Linda did it! This is for Linda!

These meetings can't run without Peter Keeler. Poor Peter. He hasn't suffered with us for too long because for most of these meetings we have been pretty good. But this time, I'm not even sure if Peter knew if there was going to be a workbook or not. I told him 3 days and as many of you know when I say 3 days you need to double whatever I say and add 5. That was about right actually! Peter put up with a lot and I understand that he is going to get back at us

somehow, but anyway thank you Peter for bringing us out here and helping us collaborate for all these years.

I would also like to thank many of the people here who over the years have shared their ideas with us. Some of which we actually incorporated and some of which our better judgement told us no. Therefore, there will be many people in the audience here that we will be mentioning as we go through the texts who have had a mark on our understanding of what's going on here. With that said, let's have Terry start talking about the script.

(Terry Kaufman) I would like to say a few things about what our research has been and then outline for you what we are going to be talking about today. As John mentioned, we started working together on this project 10 years ago in 1991. This is our 11<sup>th</sup> workshop and we've come to every one since then. During that first workshop we made some initial breakthroughs in the decipherment of this writing system. We published an article in *Science* (Vol. 259: 1703-1711) in 1993. Also in 1993 we began a field project to document the Mije-Sokean languages in order to have a fuller body of data than what existed at the time we started to decipher it. We did this so that we could more firmly anchor the decipherment in the facts of the existing Mije-Sokean languages and the reconstructed ancestor. That project, nicknamed the "Snake-Jaguar" Project, has existed since 1993 and will continue for another 5 years or so. The purpose of the project was to produce dictionaries of these languages and now produce grammars of them.

In 1994 we were able to document the O'Boyle Mask which was one of the Epi-Olmec monuments. Later that year we wrote up an analysis of the inscription on the O'Boyle Mask and also a fragment of an inscription from Chiapa de Corzo Sherd that John will describe to you and show you in a moment. We wrote that up and presented our findings at the 10<sup>th</sup> Spring Workshop on Theory and Method in Linguistic Reconstruction that was held at the University of Pittsburg in March.

In 1996 we also published an article on the decipherment in the Mexican journal *Arqueologia*. Also in 1996 John first realized that there was writing on the side of the La Mojarra stela and so we documented that material in an article published in *Science* in 1997 (Vol. 277:207-210). Most of the decipherment that we have achieved on this writing system was done between 1991 and 1997 although we have figured out some other things since then. Our research on the Mije-Sokean languages and on documenting the inscriptions was supported by the National Science Foundation from 1994 to the present. Our work was also supported by the National Geographic Society from 1993 to 1994 and from 1997 to 1999. We have also created a website that posts the results of our Mije-Sokean language documentation ([www.albany.edu/pdlma](http://www.albany.edu/pdlma)). We have not yet posted anything that relates directly to decipherment, but that should happen sometime before too long.

Alright, what I would like to do now is say what we are going to do today. The first thing that we are going to do is to describe the writing system and its use and some aspects of the language that is being written. The next thing that we are going to talk about is the methodology of decipherment in general and in regards specifically to this decipherment. Those two chunks of material should take us the morning. After the lunch break, the Ch'ol Players are going to present a version of the story that is told on the La Mojarra stela. I trust

that will help get you back here at 2:00 because that's when it's going to start! After that we will run through or step through the inscription on the La Mojarra stela explaining what the text means and we will discuss some of the historical or cultural facts that are yielded by the text. We will also be talking about some of the interesting issues in decipherment that arise as we go through it. I doubt that we will be able to go through the text so we will be skipping over things. All of you have copies of our analysis and translation of the La Mojarra, the Tuxtla Statuette, the O'Boyle Mask, and the Chiap de Corzo Sherd texts in your workbook. As we boogie through this texts, which is what we are going to have to do in order to get to the end of it, you may want to stop us so that we could spend a little bit of time talking about something specific. Now I'm going to pass the baton back to John who is going to start talking about the writing system and how it was organized. Later, I will tell you about some of the aspects of the language that's there.

## AN INTRODUCTION TO EPI-OLMEC HIEROGLYPHIC WRITING

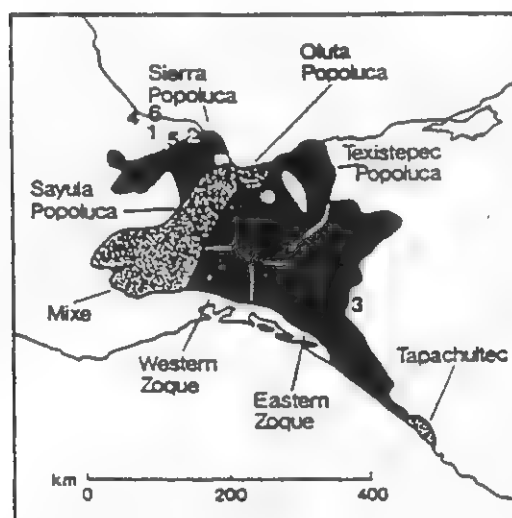


Figure 1. Map of the Epi-Olmec Region (*Science* Vol. 259:1703, 1993).

(John) First of all, this is a map of the region from which the known Epi-Olmec texts come (Fig.1). Overlaid on this map are some of the Mije-Sokean languages. This map was stolen from our *Science* article! The Epi-Olmec texts are concentrated in this region here located in the northwest margin of the old Olmec heartland. There are a couple of other things from Chiapa de Corzo. The black areas on the map represent Sokean languages and the stippled areas represent Mije languages as they were more or less at the time of Spanish arrival into

Middle America. As you can see from this map, Sokean splits Mije in two and Mije splits Sokean in two. There must have been some amount of movement in the past that we weren't able to assume at the outset whether it was a Mije or a Sokean language. But, we suppose from this distribution that it was most likely that it was going to be a Mije-Sokean language.

To start with, I would like to say a couple of words about the corpus. The first thing to be discovered in the way of Epi-Olmec texts was the Tuxtla Statuette (**Fig.2**). This greenstone figure is about this big (16.5 cms high) and there are glyphs on all 4 sides. The image itself depicts a human being with a bird bill and wing. Here is Sylvia Meluzin's drawing showing you the 4 sides of the statue (**Fig.3**). This is a rather long text by Epi-Olmec standards, except for one.

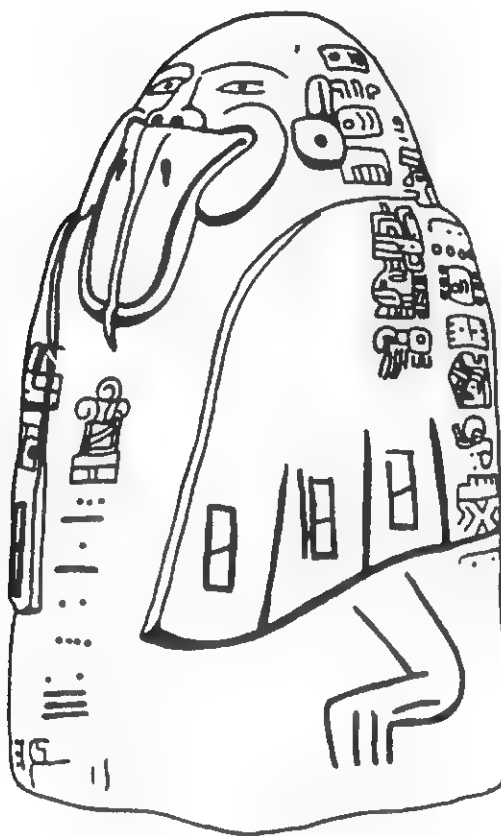


Figure 2. The Tuxtla Statuette.



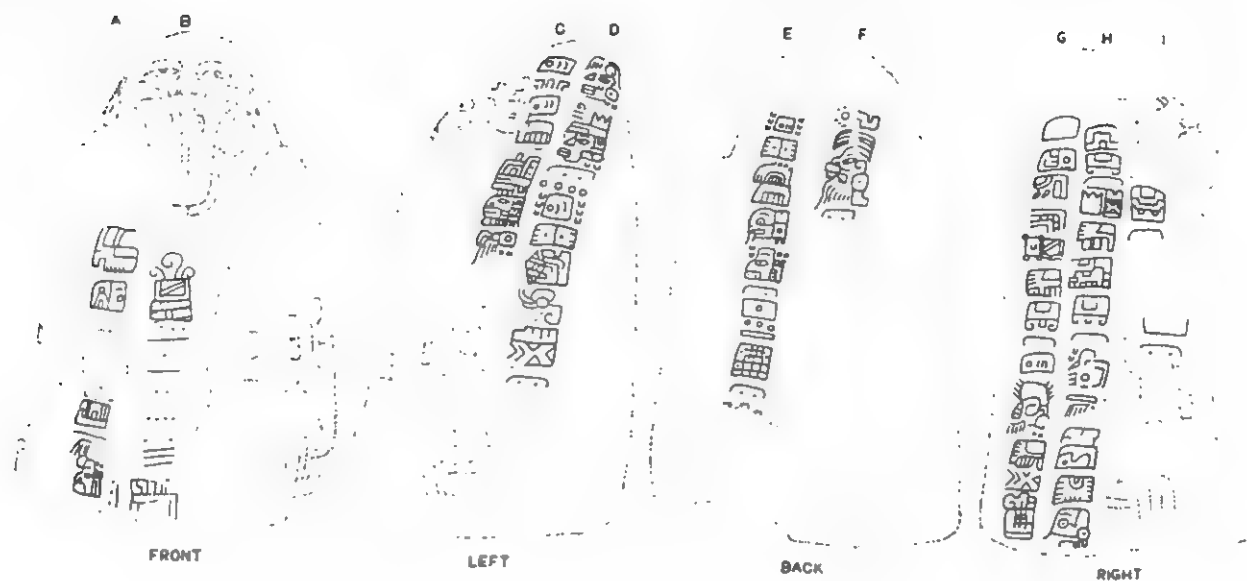


Figure 3. The Tuxtla Statuette (Drawing by Sylvia Meluzin, *Latin American Antiquity*, Vol.3(4):284, 1992).

This shows the circumstances of discovery of the unusual bill featured by the individual on this monument (Fig.4). It is no wonder where exactly this came from!

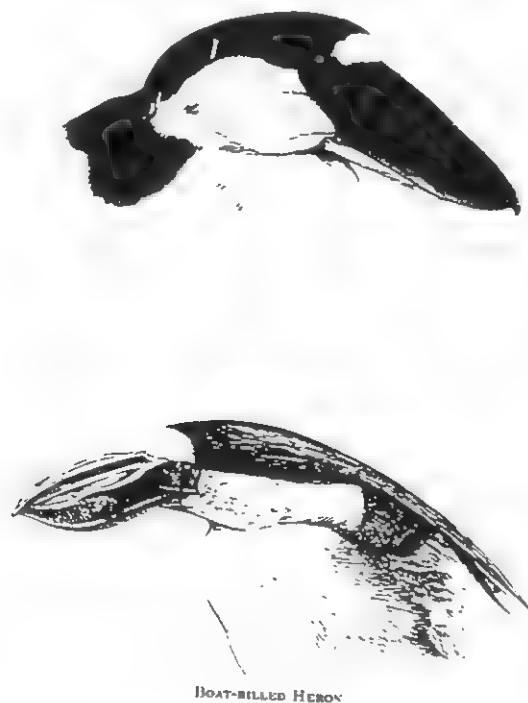


Figure 4. Boat-Billed Heron.

One sort of mistake that people have made in thinking about this text is to call this figure a duck. We resent this! It is not actually a duck. An ornithologist from the Smithsonian Institute, now retired, identified this figure as a Boat-Billed Heron (**Fig.5**). One of the distinctive characteristics of this heron is the barb at the end of its bill.



Figure 5. Boat-Billed Heron.

These are the other texts that are related to this script which were discovered later on in the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Fig.6). This example turns out not to be in the script, although it's from an area that uses the same iconography (Example A: San Liguél Chapultepec Stela). This (Example B) is Cerro de las Mesa Stela 5. This is a stela from Tres Zapotes (Example C). This is the text from back of the El Sitio Celt (Example D) which shows an obvious resemblance that many people have noticed, but it's divergent enough that we can't tell if it belongs to the same script. If it is the same script it's a highly divergent form and so this was something that could not be incorporated. Neither can anything else because as you see there is nothing else in any of these inscriptions except for bars and dots that are good, but most of the non-calendrical parts have been weathered away. Therefore, the other texts are unfortunately not useable for phonetic decipherment that was the main thrust of our work.

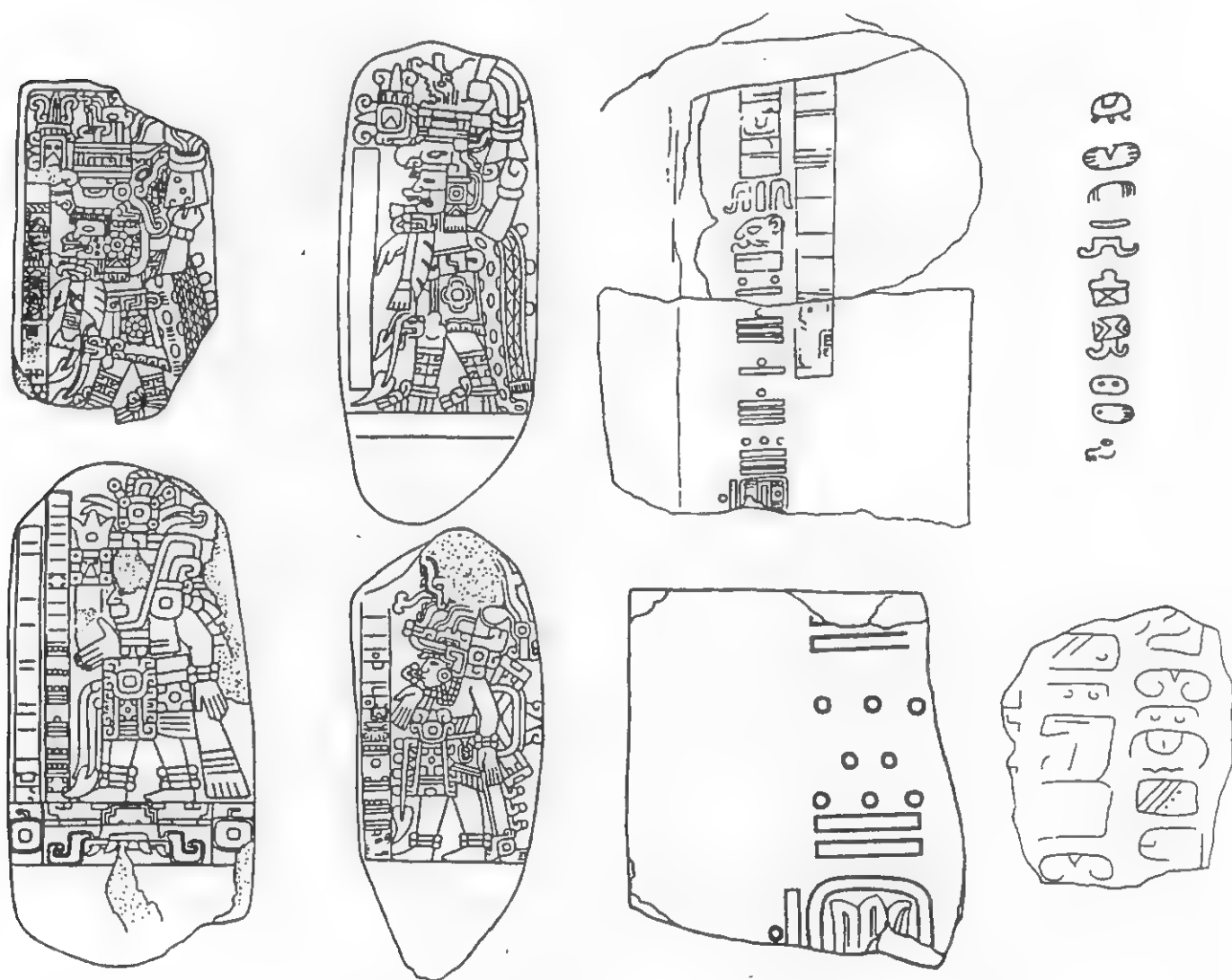


Figure 6. Other Epi-Olmec Texts. A) San Miguel Chapultepec Stela; B) Cerro de las Mesas Stela 5; C) Tres Zapotes Stela; D) El Sitio Celt; E) Tres Zapotes Stela A; F) Cerro de las Mesas Stela 6; G) Chiapa de Corzo Stela 2; H) Chiapa de Corzo Sherd.

In the 70's this seems to have come to light (Fig.7). It's been called a "Skeletal Monkey Mask" but as you can see, it's not skeletal. It seems to be human. You can't see it here, but there's a text of about 20 glyphs that runs across his forehead. This is the drawing we made of the text. One of the reasons that we didn't deal with this was because the drawings before look implausible and were quite bad actually. The object itself was very finely sculpted.



Figure 7. The So-Called "Skeletal Monkey Mask" (The O'Boyle Mask).

This is the La Mojarra Stela (Fig.8). This monument contains a very long text that gave us the first chance of serious decipherment work. Before this monument we could say a few things about dates and other very limited observations about other things, but this made it possible to make some serious headway.

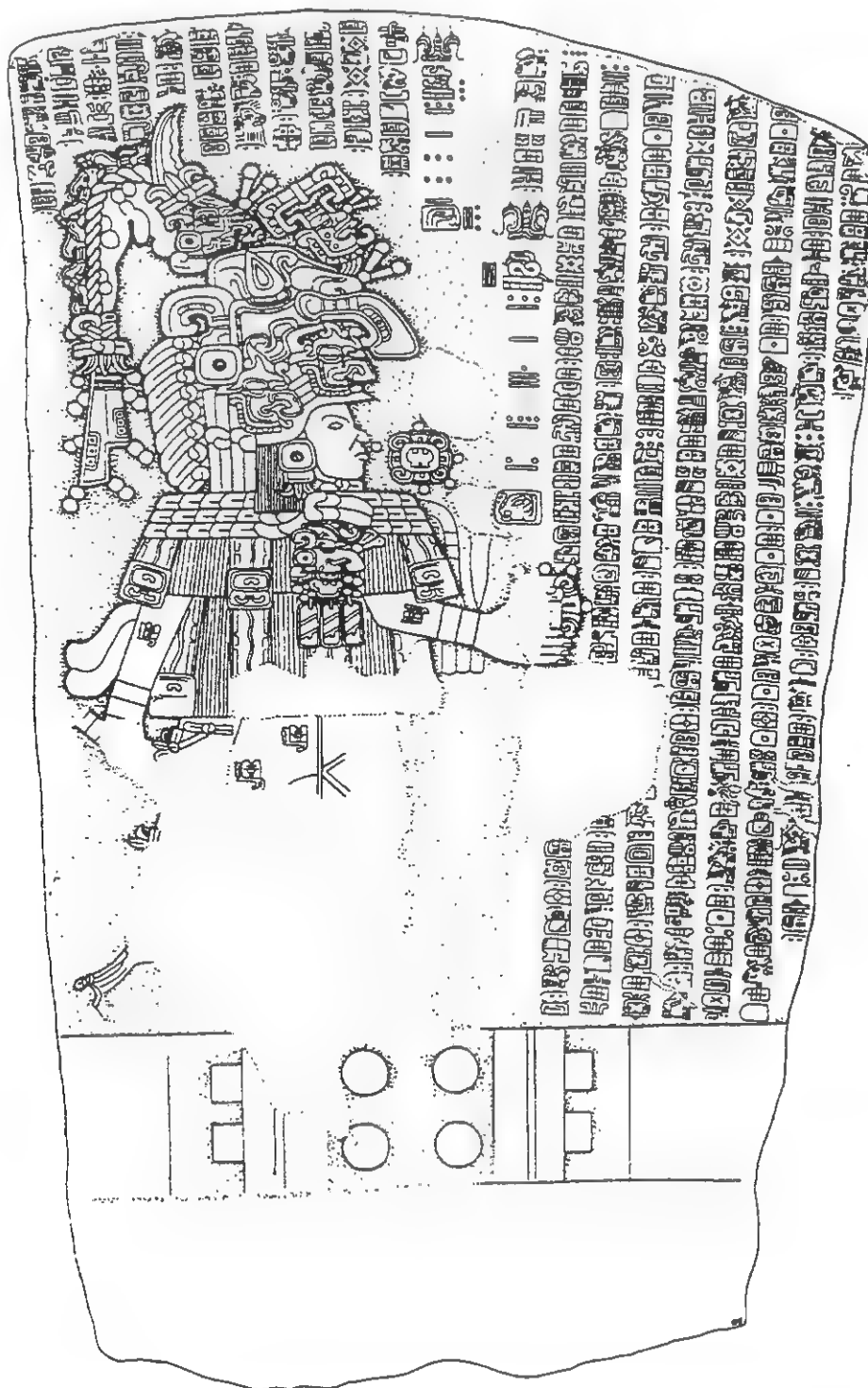


Figure 8. The La Mojarra Stela (Drawing by George Stuart).

Okay, so let's get started on the script by looking at signs and sign values. The way you think about Epi-Olmec writing is just the same as Mayan writing, but all the details are different. The signs are different. You've got signs that look like Mayan signs, but they do not necessarily have the same readings or interpretations. The pronunciations are almost all different because this is a different language. Therefore, all the details are different, but everything in general about it is just what you were led to expect. In case you are worried that this is going to be 4 hours of buildup based on the grammatical structure, something you didn't what to know about, it's going to be all glyphs all morning!


The following 3 charts (**Fig.9-11**) show signs that represent lexical items or the stems of lexical items. So this sign is a sign that represents the word for "year" pronounced '*ame*' (see Figure 9). That means there is no word like *tun* or *haab'* here. This is more or less the squared-up version of the "moon" sign and it has a couple of uses. One of its uses is the word for "moon" and the number 20 *i'ps*. This word has both of these uses in these texts just like it does in Mayan. Here is a sign that is pronounced *jama* and it is the word for the animal guise the shape-shifter changes into when he undergoes transformation. Just as a comment here, since this relates to what was going on in the Symposium, this isn't the meaning that we sort of read into this because we were looking for a "shape-shifting" or whatnot. We didn't know that stuff was there since we weren't looking for it, it is just that we ran into it because we were able to read this sign phonetically. Once we were able to understand how it was pronounced we went through the dictionaries and found that word. That is how it was interpreted in terms of "shape-shifting." It's not because we were looking for "shape-shifting." Therefore, we have a lot of different signs. Some of these look like Maya signs (moon and star) according to some general iconographic understanding, but they are not generally so straight forward. For example, the "star" sign example, initially we didn't make any assumption about whether this meant star or not even though a lot of people thought it looked like the Mayan star sign. Under these conventions some signs do look like what they should stand for, but there are other signs that appear to be very abstract like this one (the sky sign). Some of these signs you can see after you know what the word is why it would be spelling that word because it looks like an attempt to depict something related. However, others are just abstract signs.

I should say that every sign that occurs on the first page (**Figure 9**) of these additional charts are signs that have phonetic complements attached that tell us something about the pronunciation of the word. There may be a couple of cases where there's a phonetic substitution or spelling of the same word, the same meaning, elsewhere and so it's based on that in one or two cases. For example, the "moon" sign doesn't have a phonetic complement to tell you that it's pronounced *poy'a*: however, it does have a phonetic complement to tell you that when it's used for "20" its pronounced *i'ps*.


The next set of logograms (**Figure 10**) are ones that are no different in principle, but there is a difference in the nature of the data that led us to it. In these cases, there's something about the context of the sign that leads us to propose a particular meaning for it. For one reason or another, we are pretty specific about the meaning and there's only one word that ends up being viable in the languages we identified as being aligned with the texts. So in these cases, there's one particular word we were able to assign to each of these signs.

The last set of logograms (**Figure 11**) represent a vague understanding of what is going on. In some cases, we're pretty sure we know really what the word means, but we don't have a way to get at the meaning of that word through the existing lexical data. For example, in the word for "god" we don't know what the pronunciation was, but we do have a phonetic complement on the sign for god in one instance, so contextually we know what the word is like, and so the meaning is derived from this context. In most cases, we don't have such a precise grasp on the meaning. Rather, we have a sort of general meaning and so in those cases we don't assign any Sokean pronunciations to them at all. I can also say that some of these are going to have weird sounding translations. For example, "noble-sky animal" or "macaw power" or "governor." These are a way of getting at something about the signs and to get an understanding of why we use a particular nickname you will have to see the specific when we discuss them in context later today. You should think of these signs as a stand-in for some real word, but we don't have a precise handle on what that word is and so we try not to use a word that's too misleading.







7ame7  
YEAR/DRUM  
year



7i7ps  
TWENTY/MOON  
twenty



jama  
GUISE  
animal  
guise



ji7tz.i7  
LONGLIP<sub>2</sub>  
wrinkled  
one, pleated



jome7  
NEW  
new




kakpe7  
SCORPION  
scorpion




ki7m  
GO.UP  
to go up




ko7.mon7.a  
HEADWRAP  
headwrap



ko.nu7ks.i  
HALLOW  
to bless,  
hallow



ko.yumi  
LORD  
lord, boss




kuk  
MIDDLE  
middle,  
chest




matza7  
STAR  
star




matz.i7  
PLAY  
player;  
impersonator




nas  
EARTH  
earth




ni7.jup.7  
LOINCLOTH  
body-wrap




nip7  
PLANT  
to plant,  
to bury




pit  
BIND  
to bind  
bundle,  
prisoner



poy7a  
MOON  
moon,  
20 day  
"month"



sa7sa7(pun)  
NOBLE  
noble(mar.)



(yak)tokoy  
LOSE  
to spill, lose,  
overthrow




tuki  
TURTLE  
water turtle



tu7ki  
TROGON  
trogon



tzap  
SKY  
sky




tzat7  
SPAN  
to span;  
handspan




tzetz  
CHOP  
to chop



tzuk.i=pun  
DEESDMAN  
"deedsman"




te7n  
STEP  
to stand  
on tiptoe.




wan  
SING  
to sing




wik  
SPRINKLE  
to sprinkle



win  
BEFORE  
in front



tzp  
ARROW.SHOOT  
to shoot with  
arrows



tuku7  
CLOTH  
cloth,  
clothing



wis  
UPROOT  
to uproot

Figure 9. Logograms whose Lexical Identification are Secured by Phonetic Evidence.

						
<i>7owa</i> MACAW macaw	<i>jama</i> GUISE <sub>1</sub> day	<i>jks</i> AFTER after	<i>kajaw</i> JAGUAR jaguar	<i>kij</i> SHINE to shine	<i>kom</i> PILLAR pillar, housepost	<i>ko7=saw</i> PRIEST priest, shaman
						
<i>kotzuk</i> MOUNTAIN mountain, hill	<i>kow.a</i> DRUM/YEAR drum	<i>ku7s</i> EAT to eat	<i>mu7a</i> DEER deer	<i>mow</i> SLEEP to sleep	<i>naka</i> SKIN skin, hide	<i>naks</i> POUND to pound
						
<i>nu7pin</i> BLOOD blood	<i>paks</i> FOLD to fold	<i>suk</i> BEAN bean	<i>saw</i> SUN sun	<i>tu7</i> RAIN rain	<i>tu7p</i> SET.DOWN to set down	<i>tzajin</i> SNAKE snake
						
<i>tu7</i> NIGHT night	<i>tu7k</i> DO to do	<i>wu7t</i> PIERCE to pierce	<i>wu=tuk</i> BEDECK to bedeck	<i>7aw</i> MOUTH mouth	<i>tum.u</i> ONE one	numerals 1-19
						
<i>jama</i> GUISE <sub>2</sub> animal guise	<i>7aw=saw</i> TIME time, season	<i>kan</i> PENIS penis				

Figure 10. Logograms whose lexical identification are based on what they are believed to mean, or for which there is non-phonetic evidence.

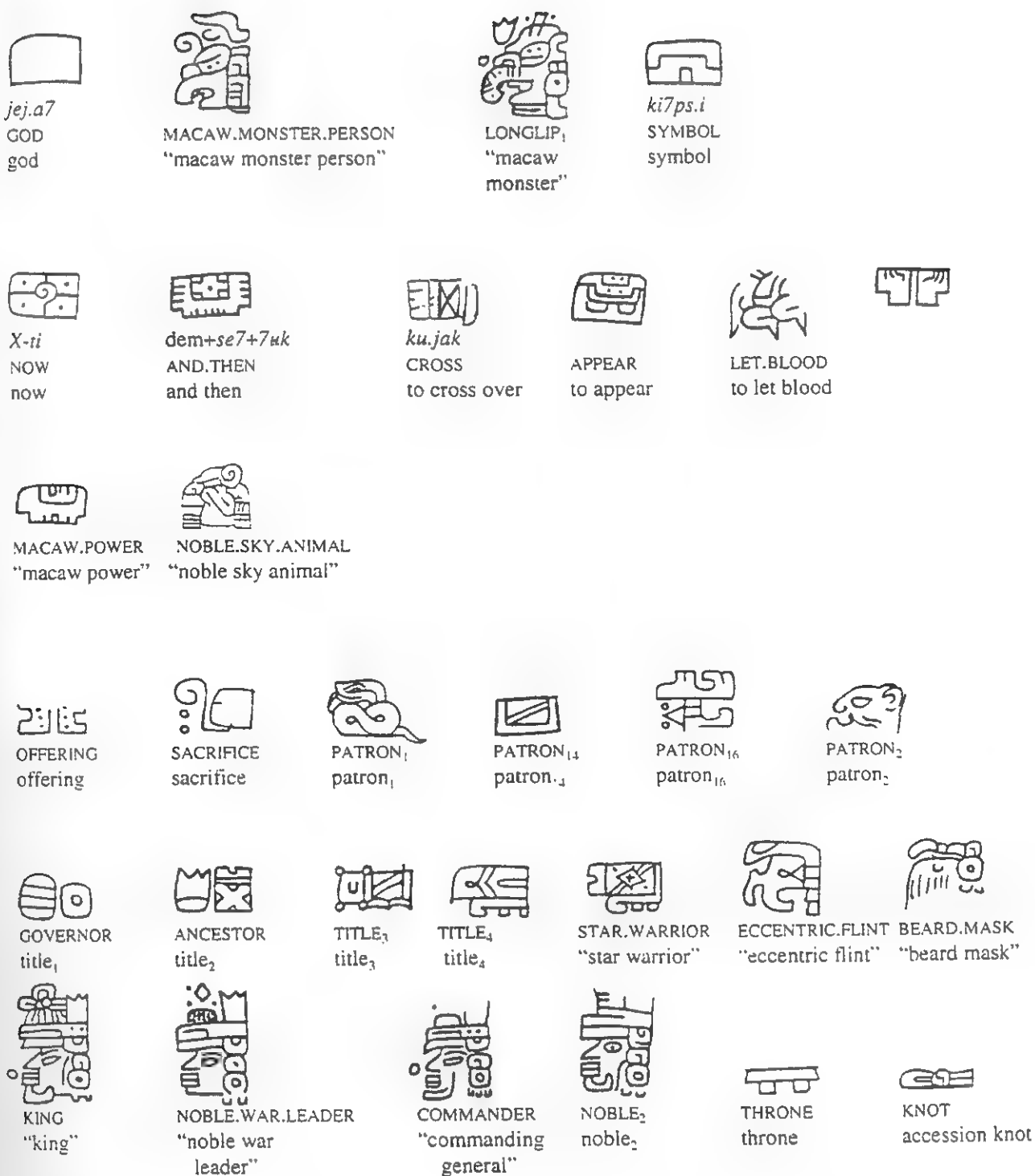


Figure 11. Logograms for which we have only approximate meanings.

Okay, so word signs or logograms are something typical of Mayan writing and so you are all familiar with those. The other thing that Mayan writing has are signs for syllables; almost all of them are syllables consisting of a consonant followed a vowel. In Epi-Olmec too, consonant/vowel syllables are the prime set that exists largely because every language, except for one, has consonant/vowel syllables. In all of the languages of the group, every syllable begins with a consonant so that's not any symbols for simply a vowel. There are no signs for i, e, u, a, u, or o. Every syllable sign is going to represent a syllable and the only syllables they have start with consonants.






















































	<i>i</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>o</i>
<i>p</i>						
<i>t</i>						
<i>tz</i>						
<i>k</i>						
<i>7</i>						
<i>s</i>						
<i>j</i>						
<i>m</i>						
<i>n</i>						
<i>w</i>						
<i>y</i>						

Figure 12. The Epi-Olmec Syllabary.

The other thing is that there are a few signs for CVC (consonant/vowel/consonant). For example in Mayan you have *nal* and in this script we have about 5 or 6 such signs (Fig.13). Here we have 4 of these signs. This one is pronounced *kak*. Here is one that looks like a lower jaw bone pronounced *pak*. Here's another one that is similar to the Principle Bird's wing pronounced *puk* and finally, we have one pronounced *yaj*. We will get into the reasons why we call this a syllabogram, but basically they spell the same CVC sequence where it has different meanings. For example, *kak* is part of the word for "scorpion" *kakpe*, but it also spells the stem of the word for "succession" or "exchange" which is *kak.u'*.

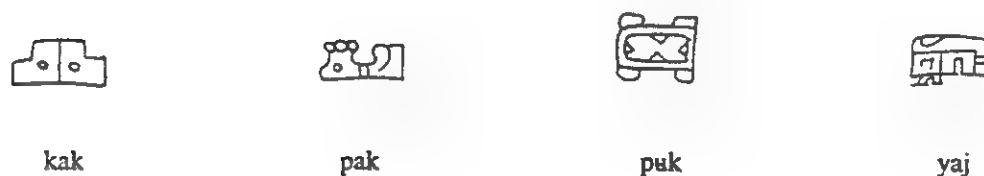


Figure 13. Epi-Olmec CVC Syllables.

Basically, in the syllabary for Epi-Olmec you have this chart (see Figure 12) which looks so much more complete than the Mayan one. The reason for this is that we have fewer consonants. In fact, there are only 11 consonants in the early forms of these languages and this remains the fact even today. There are 6 vowels and they are paired for high and non-high versions. Thus, there are only 66 possible consonant/vowel combinations and so they show up a lot more than in Mayan where you have a much larger number of combinations. So we have this set of sign types: CV Syllabograms and a few CVC. We have signs for words and we have signs for sounds that are in fact syllables.

I would now like to talk about how you use the syllable signs together (Fig.14). Here are some good examples where we see the word for *ma* being used. The *ma* sign represents a consonant/vowel sequence pronounced *ma*. Here we have 3 examples and in the first one the whole word is *ma* meaning "earlier." *Ma* can also occur at the beginning of some words or at the end of some words. For example, in the word "holy" the *ma* sign is part of a compound that can be read *masa* = (the = sign means that word has to combine with something that follows and so this is part of a compound). The word for "day" or "animal guise" is *jama* and here you can see it used as the final sound for the word. The "animal guise" and the "shape-shifter" is really the same word. In Mesoamerica those concepts get used together a lot. This then, is a typical way in which CV syllables get used together.

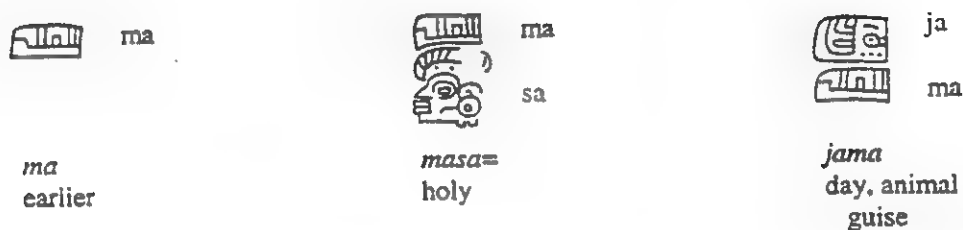


Figure 14. The *Ma* Syllable.

The next thing that we will look at is the way some of these syllables are matched or mismatched to follow the structure of the language being represented (Fig.15). In a lot of words they match perfectly. These are words that are spelled out as syllable signs or syllabograms where a property of the word in the language contains nothing but CV syllables. There are a number of words like that. Here the word *ma* meaning "earlier" has a single CV syllable. There are others: *masa=*, *jama*, *'i*, *ti*, *jam.e* (the dot is marking a grammatical suffix and in this case it changes the verb into a noun), *'owa*, *tzmsi*, *tus.i*, *tok.e*, *ken.e*, *'ikote*. So everyone of these words consists of either 1 CV syllable or a CV syllable followed by a CV syllable or 3 CV syllables in a row and that's in the language. Since we have signs that represent CV syllables its a straightforward match meaning that there's no conflict between what's in the writing and what's in the language. So if you were to mindlessly pronounce these words out according to the pronunciation of the individual sign you will get the exact pronunciation of the individual word. Now it doesn't have to be that way and it isn't always.

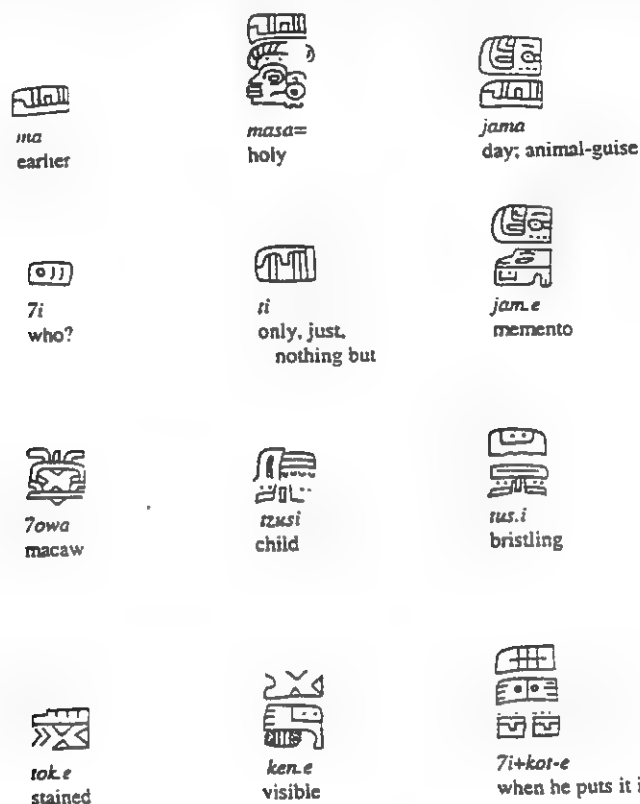


Figure 15. Fully phonetic spellings of words containing CV syllables only.

In a lot of cases there are things that are in the word that aren't in the spelling of the word (Fig.16). You have this in Mayan as well. So for example, in a Mayan spelling of the word *b'ahlam* you could spell it out *b'a-la-ma*, but you don't pick up the "h" in the first syllable. There are no new theories around to cover that "h". Preconsonantal "h" and final syllables, people have some crazy ideas about, but for those no one has argued as far as I know that those are represented in any way. That's the same thing here. There are certain consonants in certain contexts that aren't represented. Here we have a word *tukw* that ends in a glottal stop, but it is spelled as though it was just consisting of *tu* followed by *kw* and so the final glottal stop there is not represented. Here's *poy'a* which represents the word for "month" or "a period of 20 days" and notice it is spelled with a "y" before a glottal stop that is not represented. Here's *tza'yi* which is spelled as though it were *tza-ji* and so they didn't represent the glottal stop and they didn't represent the "y". For the word *kij-wu* they didn't represent the "j" or the "h" sound. For the word *inuks-i* they haven't spelled the "k" that comes before the "s." Finally, for *paki'* they haven't spelled the glottal stop that comes at the end of the word.

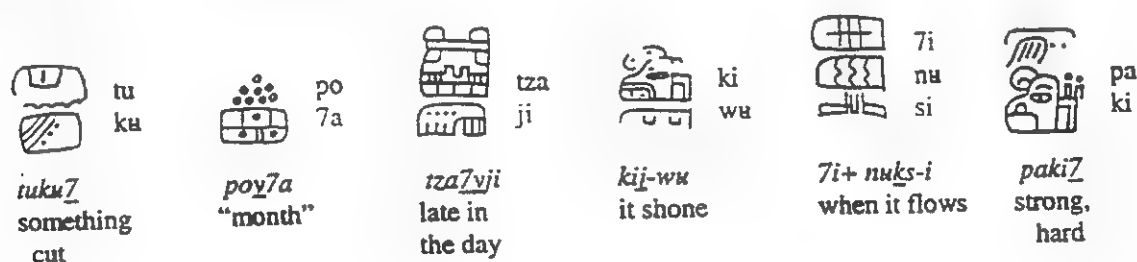


Figure 16. Examples where some consonants are not spelled out.

Now, the thing about these examples is that these are consonants that aren't in front of a vowel. If all of your phonetic signs are spelling a CV sequence, then whenever you spell a consonant you're spelling a vowel as well. If there is no vowel after the consonant in the language, for example *paki'*, there's no vowel after that glottal stop which means that you have 2 choices. You can have *pa* and *ki* which is fine, but the glottal stop will either have to spell a vowel that isn't there or to fail to spell a consonant that is. And so these are cases where they fail to spell the consonant that was there. In other cases, they spelled consonants that aren't before vowels (Fig.17). For example, here we have *'is* the word for "behold" and notice the word is spelled *'i-si* even though there is no vowel there. Here you have *'i-kip-wu* and there is a "p" in front of the "w." So here, they spelled out that "p" with the sign for "pi" even though that "p" is not in front of a vowel. Here in *nas-wu* the word for "they passed" the "s" comes before a "w" and so they spelled out that "s" in front of the "w."

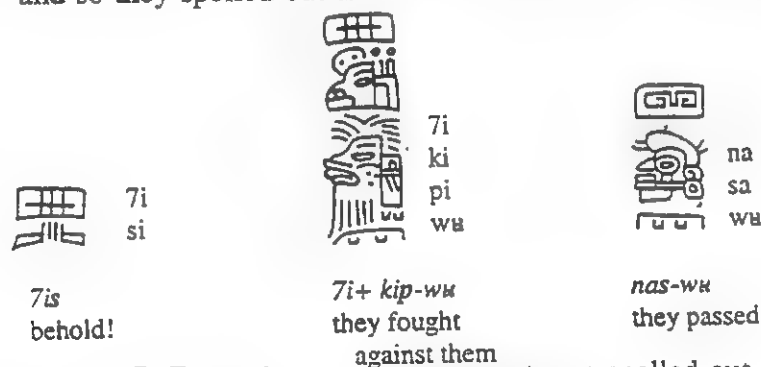


Figure 17. Examples where consonants are spelled out.



So sometimes a consonant that comes before another consonant or at the end of a word is going to get spelled out. Sometimes it's not. In some words, you can have both things happening (Fig.18). For example, here's the word *ta'm* and notice the "m" at the end of the word does not come before a vowel in the language, but it's spelled out. The glottal stop that appears before the "m" is not in front of a vowel and notice that the glottal stop is not spelled out. So these are words in which you get some consonants spelled and some consonants not spelled. We will talk in a few minutes the rules for that.

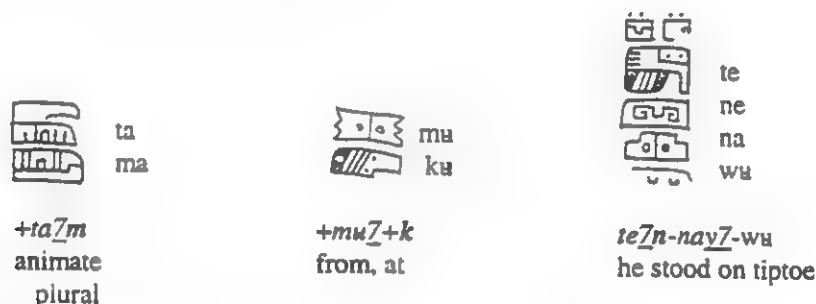


Figure 18. Examples where some consonants are spelled out while others are not.

Here are a few more syllable signs that are used for particular grammatical elements that crop up frequently in the texts (Fig.19). Here we have *-wu* and notice I have marked their function. Here *-wu* means completive/independent. Here we have *-pa* which is an incompletive/independent marker. Then we have *-ji* and *-i*. Thus, all 4 of these signs are grammatical elements in the language whose pronunciation is a simple CV syllable and so for each one of those there's a single syllable sign that does the job in spelling out, in this case, suffix.

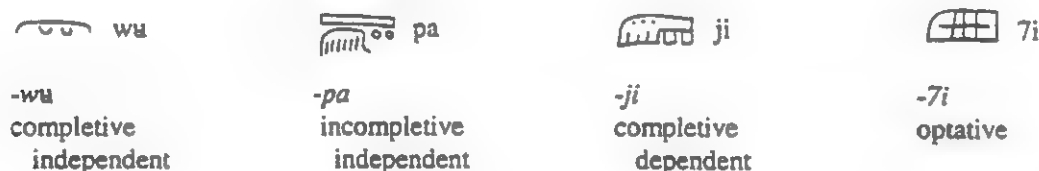


Figure 19. CV Grammatical Suffixes.

There are also a couple of prefixes that are relatively frequent (Fig.20) that have the same CV structure. Here we have *'i-*, *na-*, *'u-*, and *ko-*. Whenever you get one of those prefixes, it's pronounced as a consonant/vowel syllable so that prefix gets spelled out that way.

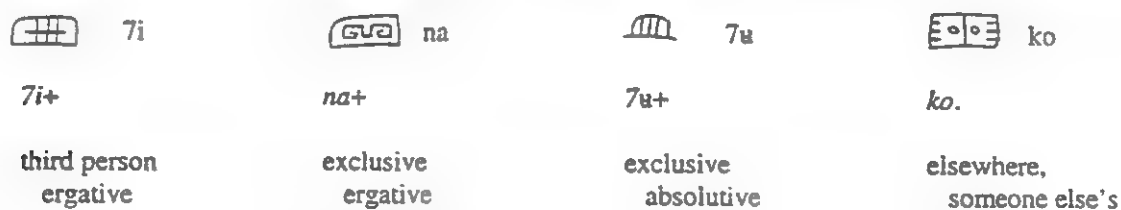


Figure 20. CV Grammatical Prefixes.

If you are spelling phonetically, these CVC syllabograms then those so far at least always correspond exactly to that CVC syllable sequence (Fig.21). That means that *kak* always spells *kak*. *Yaj* is always spelled *yaj* and *pak* is always spelled *pak*.

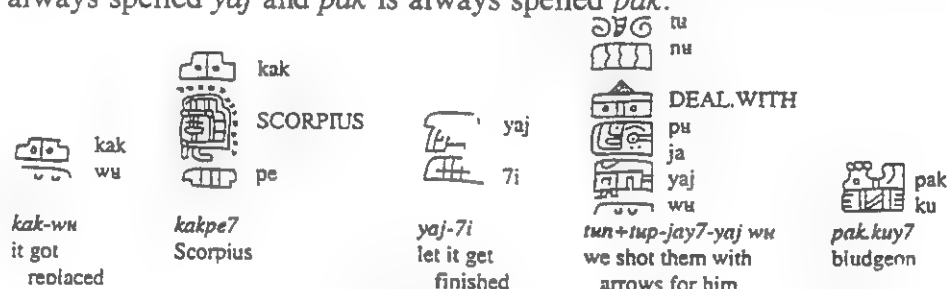


Figure 21. CVC syllabograms always spell CVC syllables.

Now finally, like in Mayan, you have syllabograms and you have logograms. Some spellings consist of just logograms, some just as syllabograms, and some combine the two. The way they combine the two is the same way as in Mayan. You can put a syllabogram after a logogram to spell out the pronunciation of the end of that logogram or the end of a word that the logogram represents (Fig.22). For example the word for "turtle" *tuki* uses a logogram for "turtle" followed by a *ki* syllabogram to spell the end of the word. For something that's get "sprinkled" the word is pronounced *wik.i* and so the logogram spells *wik* and the syllabogram spells the end of the word *ki*. Finally, "rulership" is spelled '*aw=ki'm.u*' and the logogram spells the root *ki'm* and the *mu* covers the final sound of the word.

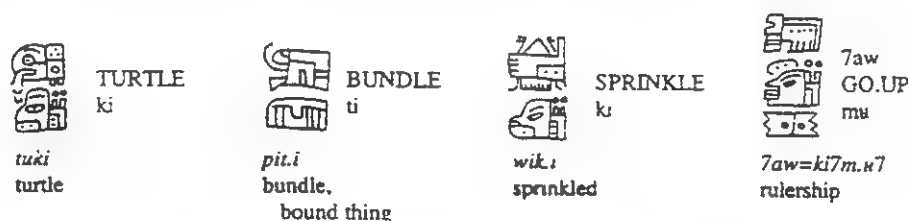


Figure 22. Combining Logograms and Syllabograms.

The same thing goes for syllabograms that come before logograms (Fig.23). Here we have the word for "10" *mak* and notice that a *ma* sign in front of that spells the beginning part of that word. The word for "chopping" is *tzet* and so it is spelled *tze-tze* to spell out the whole word. The word for "cloth" is *tuku* and the sign *tu* spells out the beginning of the word for "cloth." Here we have *ji'tz.i* and notice that you have a *ji* to give you the beginning sound for the pronunciation of the word. Finally, here is the word *kuk* meaning "middle" or "chest" and here we have *ku* to spell out the beginning sound of the word. So this is just like Mayan where you can have phonetic complements to spell out the beginnings or ends of words.

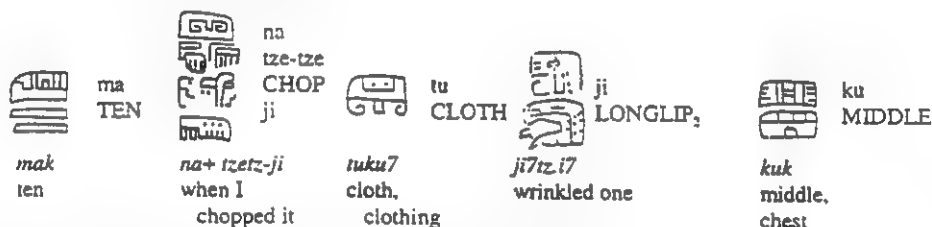


Figure 23. Phonetic signs used to spell the beginnings of the same word as the logogram.

Well, so far you haven't learned anything! I hope! Because what you've found, is that this is just like Mayan. The signs are all different and the values are mostly different, but they structure of the system is the same. We also have some signs that are perhaps more like semantic determiners. For instance, these signs here (Fig.24) are all fairly similar. What you can see is a profile face with ear ornamentation and a cap or crown with reeds behind it. In addition, there seems to be a various things in front of the cap or crown. Although there are various things in the front of the headdress, the rest is pretty much a constant template that suggests that these have a semantic contribution to make. It would seem that the initial element may distinguish the various titles or categories that we can recognize. There are also other features like whether or not it has a breath-bead in front (4<sup>th</sup> example) or a chinstrap (5<sup>th</sup> example). We will talk about other semantic determiners later.



Figure 24. Semantic Determiners.

Alright, I went over showing you that there was some awkwardness in the connection between the language as it's pronounced and the sequence of signs that spells out the words of a language and then sometimes there are consonants that don't get represented. For some words there's never a problem because every consonant in a word is followed by a vowel and so the spelling is straightforward. Typically there are consonants that come in before the end of a word and so there is no vowel following the consonant. Therefore, you have to come up with some way of either representing the two or blow it off. So, there's a set of rules that cover what you spell and what you don't. As it turns out, there is actually never any uncertainty about whether a consonant is going to get represented in a fully phonetic spelling (Fig.25). The word *ku'* for "hand" is one of these. These signs all involve glottal stops. Here's *wu'*. Here's *si'i'* which means your "backside" and it is also called *arse* as an unambiguous word since this is not an active word in the vocabulary of most people here. Here we have *pini'* meaning "brother-in-law" and here is *paki'* meaning "hard" or "strong." Here is *wen.e'*, *tuk.u'*, and *maw.u'*. All of these words end in a glottal stop and it's never represented. They spell the word as if the glottal stop was never there.

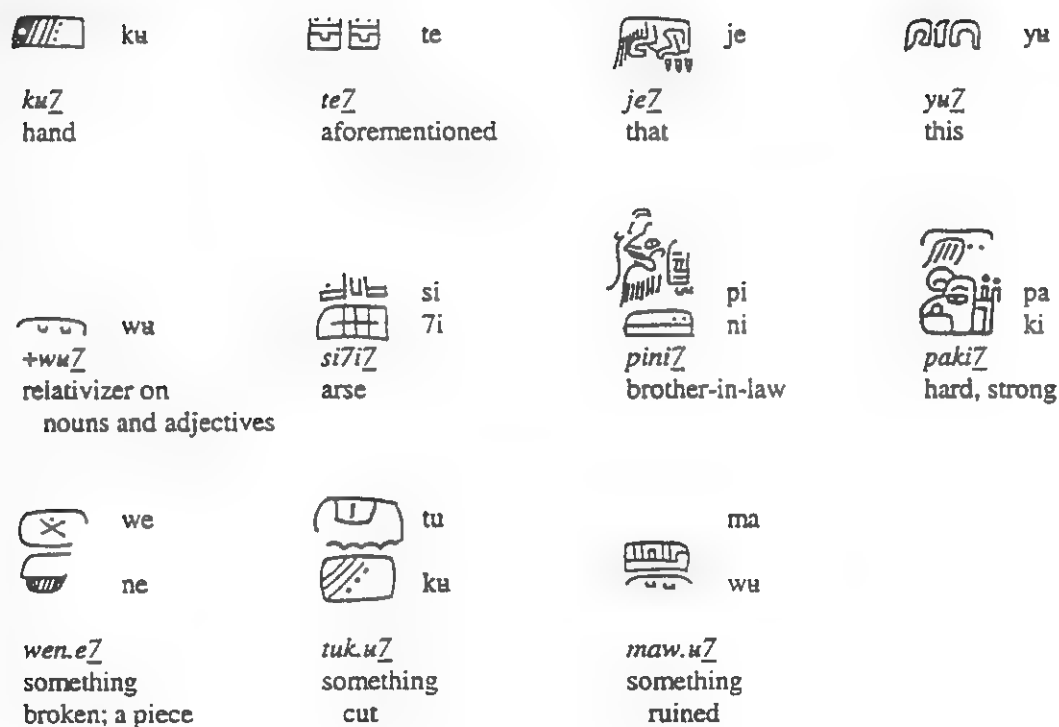


Figure 25. Unrepresented Consonants (Word-Final Glottal Stops).

This is true of glottal stops that occur in the same position when you're spelling the end of a word by a phonetic complement (Fig.26). So in the word 'ame' meaning "year" the word also ends with a glottal stop. There are phonetic complements to spell the end of that word *me* that takes no account of the fact that there was a glottal stop there. Here we have *kakpe'* meaning "scorpion" or "Scorpius" ends in a glottal stop, but it is spelled with a final *pe* phonetic complement without representing the glottal stop at all. Similarly, *yak=tokoy-a'* which means "overthrower" the final part of the word is spelled *ya* with the glottal stop not being registered. Glottal stops are big in this language. None of these glottal stops that come at the end of a word are ever spelled out phonetically.

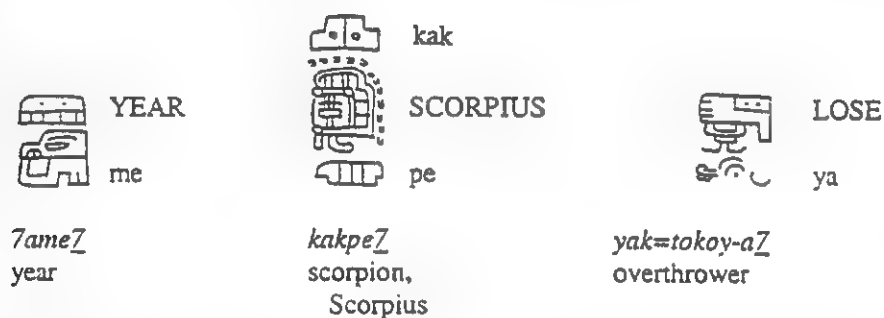


Figure 26. Unrepresented Consonants (Word Final Phonetic Complements that Never Spell the Glottal Stop).

Well, glottal stops also occur before consonants (Fig.27). So there are 2 places where a consonant can occur without being before a vowel. One is not being before anything and that's when it's at the end of a word. The other one is being in front of a consonant. We also have several that occur before consonants. For example, here we have 'ku, je'-tzu, 'i-ne'w-ji, ju'ps.i, ji'tz.i', and so on. All of these have a glottal stop before a consonant, but they are never spelled out. So the rule for a glottal stop is if it's front of a vowel you spell it, otherwise forget about it.

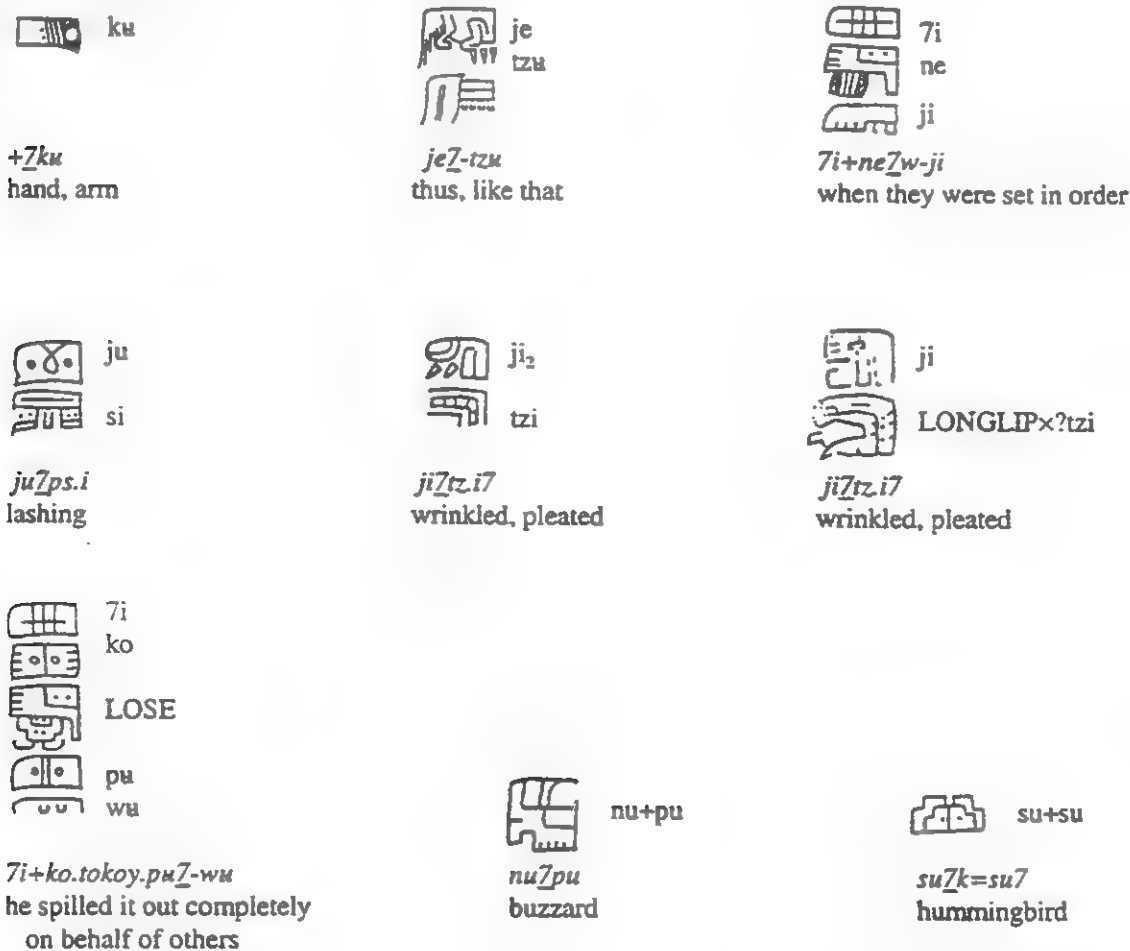


Figure 27. Unrepresented Consonants (Glottal Stops that Precede Consonants)

Now there's other consonants that are less common that are also not spelled out (Fig.28). The rules for these are the same. For example the "y" in poy'a, tza'yji, jay'=ki'ps.i, pey-wu, and 'oy-'i are not spelled. That means that a "y" if it's in front of a consonant is not spelled out. Again, poy'a is spelled po-a, tza'yji is spelled tza-ji, and so on. The same thing applies with "w". Here we have 'i-ne'w-ji and kuw-na' and in these cases the "w" before the consonant is not spelled. The same thing occurs with "j". Here we have kij-wu and it is spelled ki-wu. Here wej-pa is spelled we-pa and 'i-saj-pa is spelled 'i-sa-pa. Therefore, this is the same exact rule whether it's a glottal stop, y, w, or j, if it comes before a vowel you spell it. If it doesn't come before a vowel you don't spell it.



*pov7a*  
moon



*tza7yji*  
late in the day



*jay7=ki7ps.i*  
inscribed monument



*pey-wu*  
it got brandished



*7oy-7i*  
he should go  
out and return



*ko.wu7tz=kuy7-wu*  
they got pierced and  
covered for others



*puw-wu*  
it got scattered



*khw7-wu*  
it got colored



*7i+ne7w-ji*  
when they were  
set in order



*7otuw-pa*  
he speaks



*kuw-na7*  
set upright



*kij-wu*  
it shone



*wej-pa*  
he shouts



*7i+saj-pa*  
he shares them out

Figure 28. Weak Consonnants (If a *y*, *w*, or *j* immediately precedes a consonant it is not spelled).

Now here are some other spellings that show some consonants (*p*, *t*, *tz*, *k*, *s*, *m*, *n*) that appear before other consonants or at the ends of words that do get spelled out (Fig.29). If you were to spell out the sequence these consonants occur in, they get spelled out no matter what. So

here for example, 'is the "s" is a strong consonant. The consonants that are not spelled out we call the "weak" consonants (*glottal stop*, *j*, *w*, and *y*). So these in Fig.29 are the non-weak consonants, the strong consonants, and they will always be spelled out. Here we have *nas-wu* and notice the "s" is spelled out. Here, the end of *tun* is spelled out and here *ta'm* the "m" gets spelled out. It doesn't matter whether they are in front of a vowel or not, they will get spelled out.

As you can see from all of these examples, is that they use the rule that Mayanists started with for Mayan writing that being synharmony. The vowel being added in is not really there to enable you to pick a syllable sign. You can spell this word ('is) 'i-si, 'i-se, 'i-su, 'i-sa, 'i-su, or 'i-so. Therefore, you have 6 different choices depending on which vowel because the vowel is not really there. However, in fact they chose the one that's the same as the last preceding vowel. So for 'i-*kip-wu* the last vowel before the "p" was an "i" and so they wrote it using a *pi* sign. For the word *nas-wu* the last vowel before the "s" was an "a" and so they used a "sa." Here we have the word *te'n-na* and the last vowel before the "n" was a "e" and so they used a *ne* sign. So here this script uses synharmony and there are no exceptions to that.









	7i si		7i ki pi wu		na sa wu		te ne na
<i>7i</i> behold!		<i>7i+kip-wu</i> they fought against them	they passed	<i>nas-wu</i> on tiptoe		<i>te7n-na7</i>	
	tu nu		ta ma		7i <sub>1</sub> +ni <sub>2</sub>		mu ku
<i>tun+</i> we (inclusive) plural		<i>+ta7m</i> animate		<i>7in+</i> your		<i>+mu7-k</i> from at	

Figure 29. Synharmonic Spellings.



## THE GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE OF EPI-OLMEC WRITING

Okay, Terry is now going to move on the grammatical portion of our discussion. (Terry Kaufman) This chart (Fig.30) shows a series of words that are in fact possessed nouns (3<sup>rd</sup> person possessive). Mije-Sokean languages are like Mayan languages in that they are ergative. Like Mayan languages, the same markers that indicate the possessors of nouns are the markers that indicate the subjects of transitive verbs. The marker that we will look at is the 3<sup>rd</sup> person ergative marker which is pronounced 'i.

7i+ ???  
his offering



7i+ ???  
his Macaw.power



7i+ ???  
his "eccentric.flint"



7i+saj  
his wing/shoulder



7i+nu7pin +wu7  
his bloody thing



7i+kuk=tza7=jam.e  
his pectoral stone  
memento



7i+kuw.na7=ki7ps.i  
his set.aside-symbol



7i+ne7w.e  
his set.in.order.stones



7i+yak=tokoy.a7  
its/their overthrower



7i+pini7  
his brother-in-law



7i+ki7m.u=si7i7-yaj  
his/their ascent.buttocks



Figure 30. Possessed Nouns (3<sup>rd</sup> Person Marker).

What we can see here (Fig.31) is the 1<sup>st</sup> person ergative marker as a possession of a noun that means “my.” Actually, Mije-Sokean languages have two 1<sup>st</sup> person categories: exclusive and inclusive. The 1<sup>st</sup> person singular is “exclusive” by nature because it only refers to the speaker and does not refer to anyone else. However, when a speaker refers to himself and some other people, there are 2 different groups of people that could be included with the speaker: one is who the speaker is speaking to and that is called “inclusive” because it includes the hearers. However, a 1<sup>st</sup> person plural can be “exclusive” and refer to some other people that are associated with the speaker, but not the people who are listening and that’s called “exclusive.” In Mije-Sokean languages this marker *na*, which is used to mark the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular, is also used to mark the 1<sup>st</sup> person “exclusive.” There is a different marker where the speaker includes the hearers which is not here yet.

*na+ku7*  
my arm



*na+nk7pin*  
my blood



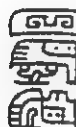
*na+nk7pin +wu7*  
my bloody (thing)



*na+kan=puk.u7*  
my penis-receiver  
(the cloth that the pierced  
penis is wrapped in to  
staunch the flow of blood)



*na+yak=tokoy.e*  
my overthrown.one



*na+tzet.e*  
my chopped thing  
(the head of his  
sacrificial victim)



Figure 31. The 1<sup>st</sup> Person Inclusive and Exclusive Marker.

Now here (Fig.32) are some illustrations of the 2<sup>nd</sup> person ergative category as a possessor of a noun that means “your.” “Your” can be singular or plural, but if it has a plural meaning it is marked as plural.

*7in+ko.tzap=kam-yaj*  
your otherworldly sky-pillars



*7in+ko.tzat7.u*  
your otherworldly handsman-measurer



Figure 32. 2<sup>nd</sup> Person Possessor Marker.

Now another kind of marker in an ergative language like Mayan or Mije-Sokean is the set of markers that mark either the object of a transitive verb or the subject of an intransitive verb or the subject of a predicate noun or adjective. We see here in Mije-Sokean languages that the markers that mark objects of transitive verbs and subjects of intransitive verbs and subjects of predicate nouns and adjectives are called "absolutives." So the "absolute" markers may serve as the markers and subjects of predicate nouns and adjectives. We have here the 1<sup>st</sup> person marker 'u (Fig.33). Now you may also be aware that in Mayan languages when you have a 3<sup>rd</sup> person subject of an intransitive verb there isn't anything there (ø). Also, when you have a 3<sup>rd</sup> person subject of a predicate noun or adjective there isn't anything there either. That is the marker is zero (ø). It's called zero rather nothing at all because it stands in a substitutional relationship with other markers. In other words, if you have a predicate noun or adjective it will have a subject, so the 1<sup>st</sup> person subject is marked one way. If it has a 2<sup>nd</sup> person subject then it will be marked another way and if it has a 3<sup>rd</sup> person subject it will be marked another way. You're saying that its marked, therefore there has to be something to mark it and so we call it ø.

7u+skw  
I am the sun



7u+tzuk.i=pun  
I am a "deedsman"



Figure 33. Absolute Markers.

(John: Why don't you explain what a predicate noun is?) (Terry) A predicate noun or adjective is when you say "it is a dog" or "I am tired." The predicate noun is "it is a dog" and a predicate adjective is "I am tired." English has a requirement that a predicate noun or adjective is used with a word that appears to be a verb. In this case, in English "to be." In Mayan languages as you may have found out already and Mije-Sokean languages also, don't have any verbs "to be." So when there is a predication or when a noun or adjective is used as predicate (meaning as though it were a verb) there is nothing else there besides the noun or adjective except the marker of the subject. (John) So in our two examples above, 'u-skw "I am the sun" and 'u-tzuk.i=pun "I am a deedsman."

(Terry) Now refer to this figure here (Fig.34). Mayan languages as you may be aware express locations. Generally speaking, there is just one preposition in epigraphic Mayan and it is either spelled *ti* or *ta*. That particular preposition can be used to indicate a whole variety of relationships of a noun to a verb. "In, at, or to" are perhaps the most common ones. All

other words in Mayan languages that indicate locations are expressed by nouns that are possessed to agree with whatever the person category of the noun phrase is. For example, if you wanted to say “inside” you would have to say “at the valley of.” If you want to say “in front of” you would have to say “at the face of.” If you want to say “on top of” you would have to say “at the surface of” or in the case of some vertical object with a relatively small top, you would have to say “at the head of.” Or if it’s on the “edge of something” you would have to say “at the lip or mouth of.” This is the way you do this in Mayan languages and there is a certain number of expressions like these that appear in Epigraphic Mayan.

In Mije-Sokean languages the same is basically true except that there’s a big difference in the way that this information is expressed. The words that express locative relationships are nouns, but they occur after the nouns that they relate to the rest of the sentence and not before as they do in Mayan. There are a number of ways in which Mije-Sokean languages are grammatically like Mayan languages and there other ways in which they are grammatically not at all like Mayan languages. This is one of the things that we can use to validate hypotheses or dismiss hypotheses about whether a particular feature of the language is being represented in these texts is Mije-Sokean or not. The reason for this is that each language has a certain peculiar features of a language that are not going to be missing or violated in a written text.

*kan=joj+mu7+k*  
from inside the penis



Figure 34. Locational Expression.

Here then is an example of a relational locative noun *joj* which means “inside” and this illustration occurs with 2 other locative elements. One of them is that when a relational noun is used in a locative function it almost always occurs with a suffix *mu* that is sort of the equivalent of the *ti* or *ta* preposition in Mayan languages. Then there is an additional grammatical morpheme (*-k* suffix) that can occur with locative expressions to indicate directionality that means “from.” So we have here an expression that is spelled out with a logogram for “penis” followed by the syllabic sign *joj* meaning “inside” followed by the syllabic sign *mu* which spells the suffix *mu* meaning “at” and then the “*k*” suffix is added meaning “from.” Together, this reads *kan=joj-mu’k* meaning “from, at, inside the penis” and that’s what it says literally.

Okay, here is something that is highly characteristic of Mije-Sokean languages and something that is not characteristic of Mayan languages. The part of it that we have illustrated in these texts is a suffix or an enclitic pronounced *-wu’* (Fig.35). Mije-Sokean languages have a number of interlocking traits that all consistent with each other and some of which are sort of like Germanic languages like English or even what you find in Japanese. The main element of any thematic construction is always the last element and anything that modifies it or is

dependent upon it will occur to left of it. In clause or in sentences, the verb is the main element. This is the way it works. In languages the verb is the main element of the sentence and everything else is related to the verb or is somehow dependent upon it. This means that in a language like Mije-Sokean or like Japanese the verb is going to be the last word in the sentence. The next thing is that the object is more closely bound to the verb in cases of a transitive verb than the subject is. This is just a fact about languages. That means that the thing that occurs immediately to the left of the verb is going to be the object and then the subject is less closely bound to the verb than the object is. Therefore, if there's a subject and an object then the subject is going to occur before the object.

Now there doesn't actually have to be a noun to represent the subject or be a noun to represent the object in these languages because the verbs have to have a marker on them that tells you what the person and number of the subject and object are. That means there are a lot of sentences where you only have verb. They will have markers on the verb to tell you the person of the subject and the object is that has been established earlier in the text. Once it's been established as to what you're talking about here you don't have to keep repeating it. Every modifier or every dependent element in a Mije-Sokean language occurs before the item or element that dominates it or governs it. This is unlike Mayan since Mayan has verb/object/subject. Another thing is that adjectives come before nouns. Demonstratives come before nouns. Numerals come before nouns. This sounds normal because that's what English does and that's what Mayan does too. However, in Mije-Sokean languages because of this unbreakable rule that modifiers go to the left.

Now one of the other kinds of modifiers of nouns we have besides demonstratives like "this or at" or "numerals" like 1, 2, and 3 or adjectives like "red, white, and blue" is they can be possessed and they can also have a relative clause modifying it. Now if a noun is possessed, in English we could say "John's house", in Spanish we could say "la casa de Juan" and so there are 2 different places where you can put the possessor. You could put it before the noun that is possessed or after the noun is possessed. In Mayan languages it goes after, like in Spanish, but in Mije-Sokean languages it goes before, like in English. Now actually in English the possession doesn't always go before nouns of possession: "at the top of the house." It's kind of clumsy in English to say that the "house is a top" although it's not ungrammatical, we don't usually say that. However, there is only one way do it in Mije-Sokean that's with a possessor before the noun that's possessed. There's only one way to do it in Mayan and that's by placing the possessor after the noun that is possessed.

The last thing is the relative clause, which is what I am building up to tell you about this chart (Fig.35). In English and in Mayan and in German, relative clauses come after the nouns and the modifiers. So for example you can say "The dog that I bought yesterday" in these languages would be said this exact way. But in Japanese or in Mije-Sokean you would have to say "the, I bought yesterday, type dog." But in Mije-Sokean languages you would have to do that. You also typically do this when you use a noun to modify another noun. For instance in English, if you were referring to a "female bear" you would have to modify the noun with some sort of modifier: perhaps "woman" to say "female bear." Now in English you couldn't say "she-bear." But in a Mije-Sokean language you would have use the word "woman" to mean "female" and you would place it before the animal it is a type of and then you would have to put something with that modifier to indicate that's it's modifying the noun. Instead of

saying “a bear which is a woman” or “a bear which is a female” you say “a woman-type bear.” We have a fair number of such expressions in these Epi-Olmec texts, in particularly on the La Mojarra stela.

The marker of the relative clause, which is based on a noun or adjective modifying another noun, is *wn'*. In these examples by the way, the glosses that are given for “it is” should have been left out because these are not necessarily credited nouns or adjectives. They are simply relativized nouns or adjectives. So for example, *tuku'-wn'* means “made of cloth” and so it’s a “cloth-type something or other.” Here we have *tuki-wn'* and *tuki* means “water-turtle” and so together *tuki-wn'* means “made of turtle” or “made of turtle-type.” Here, *tok.e.wn'*, the *tok.e* means “stained” and it already basically an adjective. This is a participle derived from a transitive verb, but when it happens to be used as a modifier of something else it means that it is a “stained-type something or other.” Now in some of the cases where *wn'* is used in these texts it isn’t absolutely required to be used. It simply makes the route of grammatical relation more explicit. Sometimes then, the same combination of a modifier and a noun occurs later on in the text that marker might be omitted because the relationship is established. If it was absolutely required in the first place for it to be there, then it was there to make the relationship more explicit.

			
sa7sa7(=pun) + wn7 who is a noble one	sa7sa7(=pun) WAR.LEADER + wn7 who are noble warleaders	BEARD.MASK + wn7 who was a beard.mask	PRINCE + wn7 who was a prince
			
TITLE <sub>2</sub> + wn7 who was a TITLE <sub>2</sub>	STAR.WARRIOR + wn7 he was a star.warrior one	?? + wn7 who was a “royal” one	na + nw7pin + wn7 it is my bloody one
			
jama + wn7 which was about an animal-guise	tok.e + wn7 it is a stained one	tuki + wn7 it is a turtle(shell)	uku7 + wn7 it is a cloth one
			
t:ay7ji + wn7 it was as a late-in the-day one [i.e., Venus was evening star]	tujtu poy7a + wn7 which was for six months	t:usi + wn7 who was a child	pak-kuy7 + wn7 which was a bludgeon

Figure 35. Relativizers.

Now I have said some things about verbs already because verbs are marked for subject and object. So verbs have subjects and objects. They are transitive if they have subjects and the markers of transitive verb subjects are the same markers that mark the possessors of nouns. The markers of the objects of transitive verbs and the markers of the subjects on intransitive verbs are the other set that also serves as the subject of the predicate noun or adjective. Verbs have other elements in them.

In Mayan languages nouns have a relatively small number of things that they absolutely have to occur with when they are actually found in sentences, basically nothing. However, verbs have to appear not only with the subject and object, but they also have to appear in some tense, aspect, or mood. There are several different categories of aspects and moods that maybe brought to bear in a particular clause. Therefore, the aspect may be "incompletive", which means it refers to an "action that is on-going or one that is habitual," or an action may be "completive" which refers "to an event that is viewed from the outside as being finished or bounded in the way that it takes place." An action can be "imperative" where the speaker says to the person he's speaking with "to do something." An action can be "optative" which means that a speaker "wishes or hopes that somebody will do something" not necessarily to the person you are speaking to. Besides that, Mije-Sokean languages have 2 additional complexities with respect to verbs that are not found in Mayan languages. One of them is the matter of dependent verbs. For completive and incompletive forms of verbs, the Mayan languages have different suffixes on these verbs depending upon whether their transitive or intransitive. However, this is not the case in Mije-Sokean languages. Instead there is a distinction for verbs between whether the verb is a main clause or in a dependent clause (Fig.36). (John) These are in the main clause. (Terry) Here are the illustrations of the 2 suffixes that appear in main clauses: one is *-pa* for the incompletive aspect and the other one is *-wu* for the completive aspect. Okay, let's take a break now for 20 minutes.

*7i+kip-wu*  
they fought against them



*7i+ko.tokoy-pu7-wu*  
he spilled it out completely  
on behalf of others



*7i+ko.wik-pa*  
he sprinkles it elsewhere



*7i+7is-wu*  
he saw it



*tu7n+tu7p-jay7-yaj-wu*  
we shot them for him



*tu7n+tu7p-jay7-wu*  
we shot him for him



*7i+saj-pa*  
he shares them out



Figure 36. Transitive Verbs.  
Break 10:30 to 10:50 AM



(Terry) Okay, let me recapitulate a couple of things that I said. What we see here in Fig.36 is an illustration of how the 2 most common aspect and mood suffixes that occur on verbs occur with transitive verbs. There is a suffix *-pa* for incompletives and there's a suffix *-wu* for completives. Both of these suffixes are occurring on words that have the ergative prefixes *'i-* and *na-* as subject markers. That means that these are transitive verbs.

Unlike in Mayan languages, the same suffixes occur on intransitive verbs marking aspect and mood (Fig.37). These intransitive verbs are all verbs that have a 3<sup>rd</sup> person subject and therefore, there is no marker that's pronounced at the beginning. We do happen to have a couple of predications with a 1<sup>st</sup> person subject, like "I am this" or "I am that" but we don't happen to have any intransitive verbs with a 1<sup>st</sup> person subject.



Figure 37. Intransitive Verbs.

Now another way that Mije-Sokean languages differ considerably from Mayan languages is that in Mayan languages you have different markers on the ends of transitive or intransitive verbs that you don't in Mije-Sokean. The other feature that's quite different is that you have what I was referring to earlier as both the dependent and the independent word forms. The independent word forms are used in independent clauses. In other words, they can stand by themselves. When verbs occur in dependent clauses as modifiers to the verbs that are the heads of independent clauses they have 2 particular properties. First of all, being dependent they come in front of or they come in first: for example, "when I arrived at the restaurant I sat

down to eat.” The second clause is an independent clause because you can always say “I sat down to eat”, but the first clause is a dependent clause. You can’t say “when I arrived at the restaurant” because it was not a question. Therefore, “when I arrived at the restaurant” is a dependent clause. Like English and in Mije-Sokean in this particular example, you get the dependent clause first and the independent clause second.

When verbs are dependent they have different suffixes on them marking incomplete and complete aspect and they do when they are independent. This is another way that Mije-Sokean languages differ from Mayan languages. There is another thing that gives you a feeling that there’s something maybe Mayan-like about this in terms of the way things are done. However, this is really not the same thing at all. That is, when a verb is dependent the subject markers are on the verb, even if it’s an intransitive verb, the subject markers are the same subject markers that mark the subjects of the transitive verbs. In other words, you can replace the absolutive marker set with the ergative marker set. At first sight this looks sort of like this thing known as “split-ergativity” in Mayan languages. Now people who work on Mayan languages know about split-ergativity in all its details and it can be rather strange in some languages. As it turns out in Epigraphic Mayan, we know that Yukatek has split-ergativity. We know that Ch’olan languages have it. But people have been arguing for years about whether Epigraphic Mayan used it and I’m not going to enter into that debate. However, if Epigraphic Mayan did have split-ergativity then you would have cases of what we know on other grounds to be intransitive verbs appearing with the subject markers for transitive verbs or the ergative markers. These are the same markers that mark the subject of transitive verbs as well as those that mark possessive nouns. What all Mije-Sokean languages show and what appears in their writing is that when intransitive verbs are used in their dependent form, they have to take ergative subject markers and not the absolute subject markers that they would take if they were independent.

Okay, the top row of examples here (Fig.38) show the complete dependent marker. The second of these verbs is intransitive and so the 1<sup>st</sup> one, the 3<sup>rd</sup> one, and the 4<sup>th</sup> one are all transitive. However, they take the same markers for subject in dependent. In the bottom row of examples the 1<sup>st</sup> one is intransitive, the 2<sup>nd</sup> one is transitive, and the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> ones are intransitive. So the marker for the dependent complete verbs is *-ji* spelled out with a syllabic sign. The marker of the dependent incomplete verb is the suffix *-i* or *-e*. The *-i* suffix is used if the vowel that is attached to the stem is a high vowel or *-e* is the vowel of the stem is attached to a low vowel. We have a sort of vowel harmony that affects the vowel by requiring certain suffixes. The vowel of the dependent incomplete suffix has to be spelled along with some consonant because there aren’t any signs in the writing system that stand for syllables that begin with vowels. There aren’t any syllables that begin with vowels and so the suffix *-i* or *-e* occurs in a syllable which begins with whatever the consonant is that the word ends in. Now most of the suffixes and most of the prefixes also in the Mije-Sokean languages begin with consonants. They are not all CV, some of them are CV’ or some may be longer than that, but in the Mije-Sokean languages they, luckily for us, happen to begin with consonants. This means that most of the time they are spelled out in the same way. However, with the dependent incomplete suffix there’s 11 ways that you can write a consonant plus *-i* and there’s 11 other ways you can spell a consonant plus *-e*. In other words, the incomplete dependent suffix could be spelled 22 different ways



Figure 38. Dependent Verbs.

We are now going to talk about 2 other rules. We have learned 2 things in the process of parsing the sentences in these texts. That is when a syllable ends in the vowel *-i* and that is in turn followed by a syllable that begins with a glottal stop followed by a vowel *-i*. In other words, a sequence of 2 syllables of the shape *-i'i* that sometimes only 1 sign containing the vowel *-i* is spelled. We were able to recognize this fact or spelling convention where they leave out 'i in the sequence *-i'i* across word boundaries. If a word ends in an *-i* and the next word begins with 'i sometimes the 'i is not spelled there and sometimes it is. This is an optional spelling convention that allows you to suppress information and this is one of the features of writing systems like John mentioned earlier. Writing systems are basically infected. They're good enough and only good enough as they need to be for a community. One of the ways that we know this spelling convention is effect is that in several cases we have what we know to be verbs that must be, given the context that they occurring, in a dependent form. Yet, there isn't any spelled out suffix for the 3<sup>rd</sup> person *-ji*. Well, it had to be there and the only way that it wouldn't be there is if there was some spelling rule that allowed them not to spell it out. There are about 5 or 6 other cases where this spelling rule is optional. (John) In some of those cases we had independent evidence for the fact that there was an *-i* in the proceeding and for some of the others we didn't have any independent evidence for what was proceeding. So where we had data it was always *-i*.

(Terry) Now the other thing we realized is that while in some cases, or in many cases, the incomplete dependent form (*-i* or *-e*) of the verb is spelled out with the consonant that ends the verb. We also have cases where a logogram that spells the verb is not followed by any explicitly spelled out phonetic sign. This was a sort of puzzle to us until we realized that there must be a reading rule that says "if you have a logogram that is read as a verb, then it can be read out as a verb followed by *-i* or *-e* depending on what the vowel of the verb is." Now why were we able to draw this inference? Well first of all, we suppose that every sign in the Epi-Olmec writing system had a name. That is to say how you would say it. If you were talking with perhaps another scribe and ask how you would write this word, the other scribe would say use this. Well, what this is going to be is either a syllabogram, which is going to either be *pi*, *pe*, *pæ*, *pa*, *pu*, or *po* or it's going to be the name of a logogram like "drink." If there is a logogram that means "drink" the word is going to be *'u'k* in the language. But, the fact is, in a Mije-Sokean language it's simply not possible to name a verb without some suffix on it.

Now there are 2 different kinds of suffixes that can occur on verbs. The kinds of suffixes that we have been illustrating for you are the finite suffixes (the aspect and mood markers) to tell you what aspect or mood it's in. But, there is also another kind of suffix that can occur on verbs which is a nominalizing suffix that turns the verb into a noun. For instance, it can be turned into an action noun like "drinking" or a participle like "drunk." In as much as verbs can't be said without either inflectional suffixes on them or nominalizing suffixes on them, we assume that they are going to be nominalized. Now the simplest way to nominalize a verb is to add the suffix *-i* or *-e* to it. It turns out that the ordinary nominalization for most verbs phonetically sounds exactly the same or very much like the dependent form of the verb. Thus, if we wanted to say "when he drinks" we would say *'i-u'k-i*. *U'k* is the verb "to drink" and the dependent form is *-i* and the *-i* at the beginning of the word is the marker of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person subject for a dependent intransitive verb. Now *u'k-i* is also the word that means "drunk" or "something that is drunk" or in other words "a drink."

The elements of the writing system had names. They could be syllabograms that is simply how they were pronounced eventually or if they were logograms, then the name of the logogram could simply be said. But, if they were verbs they have to be turned into a noun before they could be said because a verb without a suffix is not "sayable" in these languages. The inference we made was that logograms that could stand for verbs are named as a nominalization of that verb. Then those names are used when people talk about what this sign is and then the name that they use to say what this sign is can be plugged into the text and read as the name of what that sign is. Therefore, a logogram that stands for a verb can either be read as the verb when explicit suffixes are spelled out or it can be read as the nominalization which sounds exactly the same as the dependent verb form.

(John) Here (Fig.39) in this case, the *wu'tz* means "to pierce" and *wu'tz.i* means "something that is pierced" and that is more or less what is depicted in the sign. Here we have the word for "sprinkle" and so with the suffix we have something being done as a "result of sprinkling." Thus, we have the nominalization of *wik.i* spelled out early on in the text and later on it uses the verb form. And so depicted here is the logogram for "sprinkling" and in this context it by itself convey the suffix as well. In other words, the suffix is part of how you read the sign if there is no other suffix explicitly indicated.



PIERCE

*wu7tz.i*

'something pierced'



SPRINKLE

*wik.i*

'result of sprinkling'



7i-ko-SPRINKLE-pa

7i+ko.wik-pa

'he sprinkled it  
elsewhere'

Figure 39. Dependent Suffix *-i* and *-e*.

Well this pretty much is all the time we had to devote to talking about the grammar. What I would like to do now is shift to our next topic and that is what is a decipherment anyway.

## WHAT IS DECIPHERMENT?

Okay, we are now going to talk about the methodology of decipherment in general terms and then in application to this writing system. Let me start out by asking then answering "what is a decipherment?" Well, in no particular order decipherment involves the following. First of all, determining the correct readings of phonetic signs that can be syllabograms or letters. Secondly, determining the correct readings of semantic signs that could be logograms or determiners. Third, to understand the structure of the language that is being written. Four, being able to interpret texts both in terms of content and grammatical structure. Fully achieving this always takes quite a bit of time.

What is required to carried out this task of decipherment? First of all, it's the ability to verify against known languages and the ability to illustrate peculiar grammatical traits of the language being represented. Now things that are a help, but are not required are lots of texts and bilinguals. There are 2 other kinds of things we need to be able to do before starting out with a hope of successfully completing a decipherment. One of them is we have to determine or we have to guess what the typological nature of the writing system is. Is it logo-syllabic like Mayan? Is it syllabic like Old Persian? Is it logo-alphabetic like Ancient Egyptian? Is it alphabetic like the Canonite alphabet that represents only consonants or is it alphabetic like the Greek alphabet that represents both consonants and vowels? We have to figure that out. We

may not know when we start out but we need to eventually figure out correctly which kind of system it is before we are going to be able to make adequate headway. The other kind of thing we need is a language model. If we have a writing system that embodies a language that has no relatives or descendents and there isn't any of these bilinguals around (and has never been crucial or almost never been crucial for the decipherment of any writing system anyway) then we need to think about something else. I should say that there have been some cases where the existence of bilinguals has made the job easier and faster. If we have a language that is being written that has no relatives or no descendents then we are not going to decipher it because we need to have a language model to test the results of the decipherment against. That means we have to have in mind possibly several candidates for what the language being written is going to be like. If then the texts that you are dealing with date far back into the past then that language, particularly if it's from the Western Hemisphere, is not ever going to be attested in any form whatsoever. It will have to be reconstructed by comparing the languages that would have descended from it.

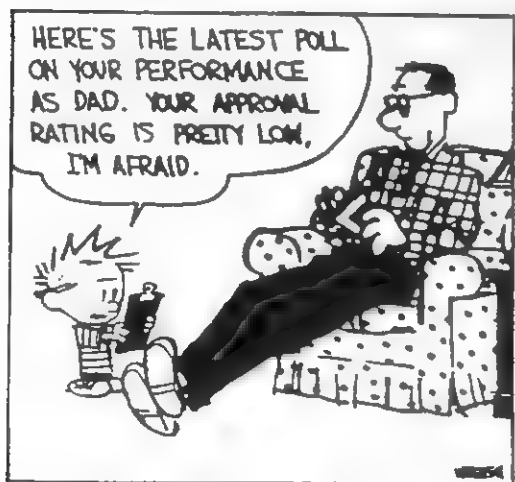
The kinds of things that we will need to know about a language are what it's phonemes or what it's signs are. We need to know what it's phonotactics are. What are the possible combinations of these signs? What is the morphological system like? What are the differences in a system's suffixes? What is the word order like? We also need to know what are the strategies of information packaging that the language uses. We need to know how common certain things are going to be repeated versus something not being repeated. Are the texts likely to be calligraphic or prolix? We also need to know the different categories of discourse being used. Are we talking about a narration? Are we talking about a prayer? Are we talking about a recipe? We need to know what kinds of things are likely to occur in the texts. We need to know that in an ordinary narrative text 3<sup>rd</sup> persons' are going to vastly outweigh 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> persons in actual occurrence in these texts. Likewise, in narrative texts we know that references to past events are going to vastly outweigh references to events that are either ongoing or ones that are possible or expected events which could be in 2 different aspects: the completive and incompletive aspects respectively.

Okay, now I'm going to be hard on somebody but indirectly! Each decipherment presents a different set of specific problems that need solving. There are several scholars over the last 30 years who have written on the requisites for decipherment. However knowledgeable these people may be, they have never been the decipherers of a writing system. Most have assumed that there is just one kind of interpretation of available data to sufficiently carry out a decipherment. Well, that's not right! Each case of decipherment presents different challenges and advantages and the decipherment can only be evaluated through hindsight. It is virtually impossible to predict the relevant constraints on a productive methodology for decipherment of an unknown script.

Now I'm going to say a few more things and then John is going to take over for a while. We are going to particularly talk about the decipherment of Epi-Olmec writing, but John may give you a few other examples from other writing systems from a methodological point of view. When we started this decipherment 10 years ago we had detailed knowledge of what Mije-Sokean languages were like diachronically and historically because I had been engaged in working out comparative Mije-Sokean issues back when I was a graduate student. Also around that time, Søren Wichmann, a Danish graduate student was working on a comparative Mije-

Sokean dictionary and grammar, gave us advanced copies of parts of his work. During this time, I had also worked on comparative Mayan languages and I had some knowledge on the comparative linguistics of the Zapotecan language family. Now we started out with the hypothesis that these texts were in a Mije-Sokean language. However, if the decipherment had not worked out we would have tested this text against Mayan and Zapotecan and eventually we did in fact, realize that this worked.

I would now like to briefly lay out to you our model for what Mije-Sokean languages were like. This includes knowledge of what the sounds of the ancestral language were. We looked at what the possible combinations of sounds were and some aspects of the morphology. We looked at the nouns and verbs. (John) When he mentions morphology he's talking about the grammatical elements that make up words. (Terry) This is reconstructed Mije-Sokean. This is like the languages that descend from it providing that they're all very much like each other now. However, there are specific traits that the ancestors must have had that not all of the descendants have now. Some traits that all of the languages have now may not have been a feature in the ancestral languages. We also looked at the numerals. We also looked at word order and other aspects of discourse that includes the kind of information that you would expect to occur with high frequency in texts. One thing I should say is that the ancestor and a couple of the descendants favor subject/object/verb word order, but only some of the living languages have that particular word order. The others having been influenced by languages that they are in contact with in adjacent parts of Mesoamerica.



(John) One of the reasons for talking about the general principles of decipherment is because there is some people who do not believe that it's possible to decipher any writing system including this one with as little material as we have. Mike Coe and Steve Houston have written and said that this is undecipherable citing the shortage of available texts. Well the problem with this way of thinking about it is that you can't know how much you need until you know what the patterns are in the data. And you can't know that until you succeeded in the decipherment. I'm not trying to make fun. This is a fact. Some data is patterned in ways that makes it impossible for you not to stumble into answers. Other data is very difficult. Smart people worked on Mayan for a century before making anything close to the strides that we have now finally arrived at. However, there were other writing systems that could be deciphered on practically nothing. For example, Old Persian writing. You could decipher Old



Persian writing with 2 short texts that had a total of a couple of dozen words. A couple of these texts show rulers by their palace and what the text says on one of them is "I am Xerxes, the king of kings, the great king, the son of Darius the king." There is another text that says "I am Darius, the king of kings, the great king, son of....." However, in this case Darius's father was not a king and so it turned out there were 2 instances in Persian history, as known from the Greeks, that you a guy who was king succeeding his father who was king who succeeded his father who wasn't a king. And so there are only 2 options for who these guys were. The way they figured out that this was a king was they guessed. Well, how did they guess? Well, later kings talked about themselves this way and seeing the same words repeated next to self it was calling out some word connotation that had the same word use twice in a row as part of a royal inscription. This got the ball rolling. Based on the length of the names they guessed correctly. So basically you had 2 texts, with almost no words and they could still get the ball rolling. Yes it took a couple of decades to work out the details of the grammar. (Terry) Another thing about the Old Persian writing system is that there is not a single sign in it that is the same as a sign in any other writing system of that part of the world.

(John) I will give you another example because it's more personal. I teach a course to freshmen and sophomores which claims to be a course about ancient writing and decipherment, but in reality, it's a course about problem-solving. The course was actually inspired by Linda so that everyone could have a hands-on learning experience. So I give them real data from real writing systems and they end up having to solve various problems. The first thing they do after 1 week where they learn how difficult decipherment is, they decipher a writing system (the Cypriot Syllabic Script). I lead them to believe that's it's written in a different language than something in a bilingual inscription. They have added Greek in 3 texts that I give them and there are words all together. By the way, these people have never heard of a syllabary before. All they know about is the English alphabet and some other European alphabetic languages. But, based on these 3 texts with these 12 words they know to work on the proper names because those will be pronounced about the same in each text and so that is how you get at the phonetic signs. In 3 class sections they always figure out. They never heard of a syllabary before but they end up figuring it out that they are writing syllables in the shape of consonant/vowel or vowel. One person advanced much quicker than the rest of the 150 people who have taken this course over the years. She was Japanese and she knew the usefulness of the syllabary. This shows that what your expectation or model of what things could be like can help you make headway.
















Let me now show you what we essentially came up with (Fig.40). This is a sign by sign transcription. We couldn't align the individual signs with the typescript, but here you can see the sign's location within the overall text. The 3rd column represents a numerical transcription code that Martha Macri gave to those signs in her catalog. The 4<sup>th</sup> column represents the value of each sign and so this is the sign "pierce." This is the phonetic sign *ma*. This is *pak*. This is *ku*. This is *wu*. This is *ma*. This is "star" and this is *tza*. Here we have "shine" and here we have *wu*. Then we have another *tza* sign, *ji*, and finally *wu*. Then down here we give you the same data but in analyzed form. So the first line here is the Transcription (first row across, labeled as T) and it contains the same data: "pierce" *ma*, *pak-ku*, *wu*, *ma-star-tza*." Here (5<sup>th</sup> row down) we have "*shine-wu*, *tza-ji*, *wu*." The second row across represents the Reading line (labeled as R). This is how you pronounce that in the language. Do lined up with "pierce" we have *wu'tz.w*'. Lined up with *ma* is *ma*. Lined up with *pak.ku* is *pak.kuy*'. Lined up with *wu* we have *wu*'. Lined up with *ma-star-tza* is *matza*'. Then the next line down (3<sup>rd</sup> row down, labeled as G) is the Gloss and so we get the meanings of each element there. So the first grammatical element here is "pierce" and notice the -AN. It means that the suffix is used as an "Active Nominalization." Thus, this suffix changes the word from "pierce" to "piercer." Here we have the gloss for "earlier." Here we have "beat" and the -NSTR indicates that the suffix changes the word from "beat" to "something one beats with." Here is the Relativizer (REL) that Terry talked about and this one means "star." Finally, the 4<sup>th</sup> row across is the Literal Translation (labeled as L) of each of the words. So this is "piercingly" and this is "earlier." Here is "bludgeon." Here is something labeled as something "being of the type" and here is "star." Now below this all of this is something labeled as FT which means "Free Translation." Thus, "piercingly the bludgeon star [Venus] had shone earlier, as a late in the day one (i.e. as Evening Star). So what you have here is a breakdown according to various kinds of information. First, we have what the signs are in terms of their basic values. Next we show you how you read them in the language. Then we have the grammatical components of that reading and what do they mean literally. Finally, what does it mean in a more idiomatic meaning. Occasionally we also give comments to interpret what's going on here.

In any case, this is what we have done for every sentence in the text. This particular text (the La Mojarra Stela) had about 70 sentences in it. Every single one is laid out this way and so this is one of the things that we were going for with the decipherment. We wanted to be explicit about what's being represented and how it's being represented. There are a couple of sentences that we have problems with, but this is still going. What this shows is that the model of what the language is like fairly consistent and in the case like this where we have a very heavy use of phonetic signs, the text tightly constrains what you come up with. Anyway you have some 60 pages of that. That's what should be done with decipherment. If you haven't done that, you haven't shown whether the structure is specifically handled by what you are trying to decipher in the details. Mayanists can do it like this! Without this understanding why would cover up or fail to realize that you don't understand it if you don't try and make it explicit. Well, this was one of our goals. This should give you an idea of what can get accomplished by doing what we did.

Well going back to our original question of "how much text do you need?" It depends. It depends on what the data is like. If it's as obvious as the Old Persian then we need practically nothing. If we have bilingual texts and the right kind of data freshmen and sophomores can do this with no trouble. You also have to be careful and really lucky. This is exactly what Terry

B5-C7

	B5	23	PIERCE, probably /wu7tz/
	B6	63	ma
	B7	109	pak
	B8	37	ku
	B9	20	wa
	C1	63	ma
	C2a	32	STAR/MATZA7
	C2b	30	tza
	C3	31	?SHINE, probably /kij/
	C4	20	wa
	C5	74	tza <sub>2</sub>
	C6	138	ji
	C7	20	wa

T PIERCE ma pak-ku wa ma-STAR+tza  
 R wu7tz.w7 ma pak.kuy7 +wa7 matza7  
 G pierce-AN earlier beat-NSTR REL star  
 L piercingly earlier bludgeon -type star

T SHINE-wa tza<sub>2</sub>-ji wa  
 R 0-kij-wa tza7yji +wa7  
 G 3A-shine-IC late REL  
 L it-shone late -type

FT Piercingly the bludgeon star [Venus] had shone earlier, as a late in the day one (i.e. as evening star). [EN3]

Figure 40. A Typical Transcription of each Clause of the La Mojarra Stela.

was talking about earlier when he asked what the clues were that would be helpful in a given situation. Our response to that is "it just depends." You can't know in advance. One particular thing is that we didn't have a clue about the salient content of the text. We didn't have any idea what the content was except that we suspected that the La Mojarra text was a narrative. It was speculated that we were sort of building on all of the ideas that there was blood everywhere that was fashionable in Mayan epigraphic work of the mid-80's. Terry didn't know anything about that stuff and I didn't believe any of that. Well, we did end up with blood everywhere because there is a symbol that says blood everywhere in the text. We read this and it wasn't by looking at the text and saying "well that looks like that is probably blood." Rather, we looked at all of the contexts where it occurred in and so it constrained

what it could possibly be referring to. We will talk about that later. Anyway, it wasn't a matter that we were looking for certain things. Also we were not looking for transformations. There just happen to be births everywhere.

(Question: How do you know that the Mije-Sokean speakers that existed at the time this monument was made, didn't migrate in at a later date?) (Terry) Well, we don't know! We applied a model from what we know about what the ancestral or earlier forms of Mije-Sokean languages were like. It works! We could have tried Mayan. Well it hasn't worked for anybody yet and we tried it later just to test it and it doesn't work. We could have tried Zapotec or some other language, we didn't, but we did later and it doesn't work. That's the answer. Now there is another issue. Why did we decide to look for Mije-Sokean? Because that's where the Mije-Sokean languages are now and that we have pretty good evidence that at least some and probably most of the Olmecs spoke Mije-Sokean languages. That kind of evidence as well as the influence of Mije-Sokean languages on other languages of Mesoamerica was an important factor. We know where the Olmec were. The place and the time are bracketed therefore. It's in the area where the Olmec used to be and it's in the area where Mije-Sokean languages are now. So this is the only reasonable hypothesis. That's the hypothesis we chose and so therefore, the other possible hypotheses that we just mentioned, could have been tried, and they were, but they have not succeeding in achieving a decipherment.

(John) One thing about this too is that in 65 pages you have all of these clauses laid out and they are perfectly grammatical and this makes sense. There hasn't been a case of decipherment, as far as I know, where there was this much material that could be parsed according to a pre-existing model of what a language was going to be like and is perfectly consistent with that and yet where the decipherment was wrong. So if you suppose that this could be perfectly consistent and complete and yet totally wrong, then I would argue that you are wrong. This is not a plausible idea. I should say that more than half of the symbols are phonetic. So it's not like you can just sort of pretend that you are reading in meanings to a bunch of symbols without constraints. There are all of these inter-locking constraints that you get from Mayanists from a phonetic point of view. So if you are going to claim that this is some other thing completely and this is really out of base I would say the following. For some of the word signs they could mean something different from what we said. We don't believe that we've got the right answers for all of them. However, we believe that for some of the signs where we think it might mean this, we could have the wrong answer. But when we say that we think this represents this sound, and it's spelling out these various morphemes we don't think we're wrong except for about 2 tiny infrequent exceptional things. Anything that it common and spells the basic parts of the grammar, we think we're right. We find it hard to believe that you could get such consistent grammatical structure. The decipherment proceeded based on the structure of words in terms of the sound system and the structure of the words in terms of grammatical elements, but just about all of the syntax fell out in very consistent and grammatically patterned ways. So if you think that was some weird coincidence, the pressure is on you to find a model that's just as explicit as ours in terms of its grammatical structure and accounting for all of the supporting data concerning these texts.

(Terry) I would just like to say that obviously we are Mesoamericanists and we had a fair amount of knowledge about the prehistory and ethnohistory of Mesoamerica, but we did not aim to find any particular features in these texts. They linguistic elements came out of the

decipherment. During this process we recognized a lot of things that are characteristic of what other scholars and ourselves have figured out concerning Mesoamerican culture. However, there are some things there we didn't find. But because they came out of the decipherment, we believe that these are textual references and they have to be taken as seriously as what appears in other texts that have been deciphered, like the Mayan which provides us a wealth of information about social organization and dynastic change. It is not strange that this information should be there, but it is knowledge that was generated out of that material.

(John) I would like to go on to some of the particulars. The big task or the game of decipherment is to impose as much constraint as you possibly can in particular places where you tend to have lots information that you are on to something. So by establishing a lot of different constraints you can limit the possible answers that you can get under the model you're working with, in our case under a Mije-Sokean model. It turns up that there are certain passages that provide information about the context and so it forces us to limit the possibilities we need to think about to a very few or sometimes even to one. I will show you some examples of this in a bit. The idea is to take this rule of possibilities and shrink it down to a small closed rule. We get a closed rule possibility from the fact we have a narrower set of grammatical possibilities, like every verb has to end in some suffix. Remember, there's only 6 possible suffixes and half of them are modern to frequent, but the frequent ones all correspond to CV syllables so every affix will always be represented the same way. Thus, the grammatical structure is going to be apparent. This helps us to find the constraints to narrow our possibilities. We also imposed upon ourselves that we would assume everything in the language was spelled out and that there's nothing grammatically required to be missing from the representation. If you don't assume that then sort of anything goes. Therefore, with the grammatical system we can narrow it in one way and narrow it in another way using the sound system.

In addition, sometimes you have to use external contexts. In Mesoamerica this has largely been done to the numeral system. We know what numerals look like: they are bars and dots. In the La Mojarra stela for example, there are numbers that are formatted in a recognizable way. They look like Long Count dates (Fig.41). Here we have one that starts out with the number 8.5.3.3.5 (A4-A9). Here you get 8.5.16.9.7 (M11-M15). So this follows the exact same format as Long Counts in Mayan, except Mayan epigraphy has period glyphs attached, except in the Post-Classic manuscripts and on monuments like those found at Abaj Takalik. Thus, these glyphs are recognizable. In Mesoamerica, numerals in texts largely occur for a variety of purposes, even if it's for present dates or to count the time between dates and so we decided to follow up on that as one aspect. So in addition to a grammatical framework for decipherment, we imposed a chronological framework for decipherment to try and see what we could constrain in the interpretation of time and expressions involved with time.

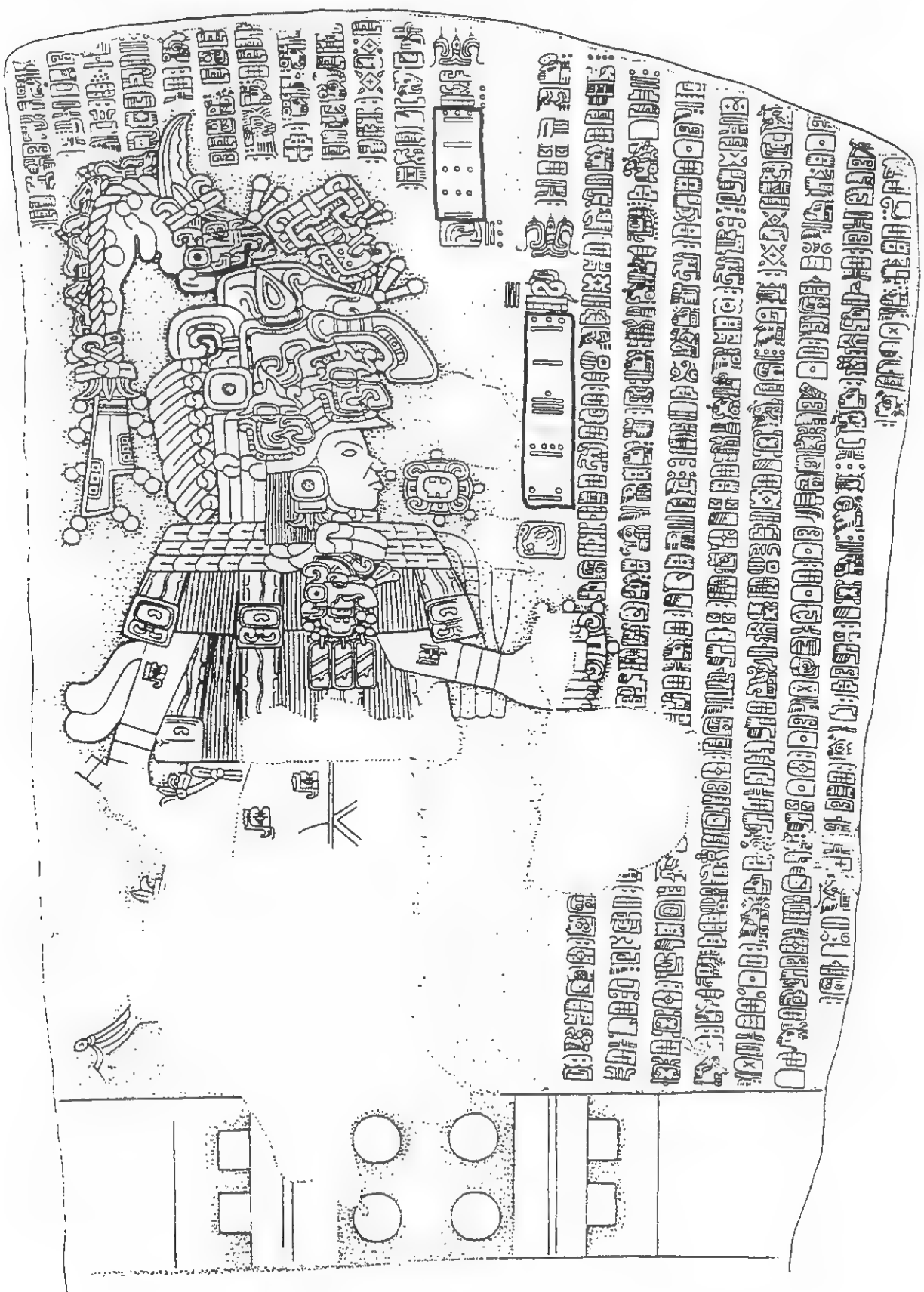


Figure 41. Long Count Dates as Recorded on the La Mojarra Stela.

This is from the Arqueologia article that Terry mentioned (Fig.42). This represents everything that is numerical in the text. Because we want to get you out of here for lunch by 12:15, we are going to move through this quickly.

























	<i>cuentas cronologicas</i>	<i>otros ejemplos</i>
<b>a</b>  <b>año</b>	     	 
<b>b</b>  <b>mes</b>	 	  
<b>c</b>  <b>día</b>	   <p>glifo introduccion cuenta-dias</p>      <p>9-ja-ma</p>	  

Figure 42. Chart showing the Calendrical Dates as Recorded on the La Mojarra Stela.

In this text here (Fig.43) between the 2 Long Count dates the time-span is 13 years, 6 months, and 2 days. George Stuart figured this out early on. Here you can see the 13 (I1) and here is the number 6 (J2). There is no numeral 2 here, but this didn't seem like a coincidence to George or to anyone else. Also after the 13 there is a particular sign that looks like the Mayan "year sign" only upside down (I3). Besides that, it also occurs in the Long Count Introductory Glyph and so this is the "year sign." It is also confirmed by its context within the text. The sign after the 6 must also be the spelling for 20 days or month. The 2 days are missing, but the rest of this is not a coincidence. So we now have 2 signs that can be read: a "year-sign" and the "month" sign.

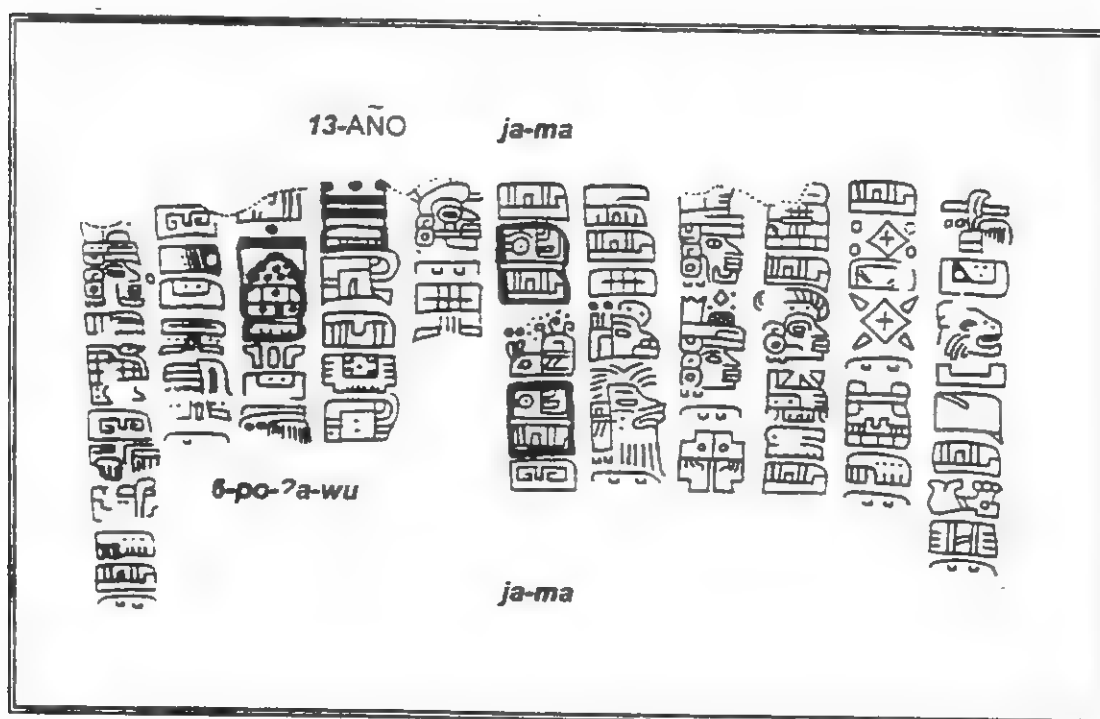


Figure 43. Detail of La Mojarra Text showing the signs for "Year" and "Month."

And so we have these numerical expressions. We have "counts of years" and we "counts of months" and the other most common time-period to be counted should be days, but we do not have anything that's recognizable from another script that means "day." Well, we guessed that these glyphs here are "counts of days" (Fig.44). Here we have 9 days and so on. This confirms our hypothesis that this was a way of spelling out the word for "day." We had 2 possibilities initially: this was either Mijean or Sokean. If the word was Mijean the word would be *shw* and if it were Sokean the word would be *jama*. Now if you are spelling phonetically, this could be the reason why you have 2 signs and so the top sign could be *ja* and the bottom sign could be *ma* or it could be *sh* and *wu*. However, we already know what the *wu* sign is because it's the sign that keeps appearing as a frequent grammatical marker and so this is not it. (Question: But you didn't know that yet, did you?) Yes we did. The first thing we knew was that this sign here ends a lot of the segments of the text ( ) and so that





This is a sculpture from Veracruz that contains this sign-form repeated in a skyband (Fig.45). So this sign also appears in Veracruz iconography in a much more similar form than the later Mayan form. Notice too, that the *ma* sign from *ja-ma* comes before the word for "star." The word for "star" is *matza*'. It also comes in front of the 10 in 10 Sky (lower glyph block).

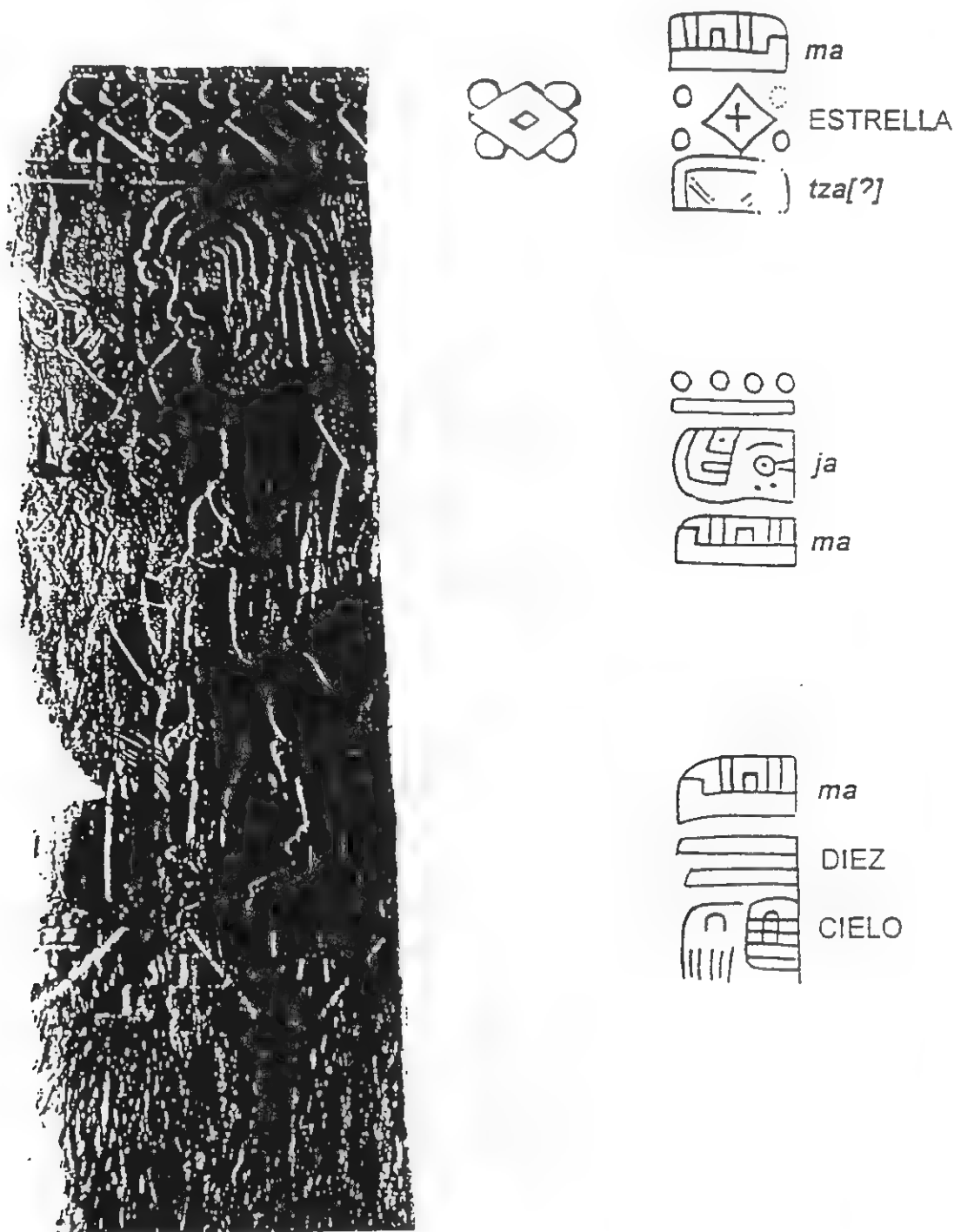


Figure 45. A Veracruz Monument Showing the a Similar Form of the Epi-Olmec "Star" Sign.

It also turns out that as we advanced in the decipherment the *ma* sign occurred a lot of times where everything else's context was solved, but the *ma* sign seemed to be a word by itself. Well there's only 1 or 2 things that could be; one of which is the word "earlier." That word turns out to be appropriate because it's in an adverbial context to begins in most cases and we also have 2 different passages where the same verb is used to describe "cloth being pulled" (Fig.46). In these 2 pairs, the second occurring one in the text has *ma*. The first mentions cloth being folding and then there's a back reference earlier to that date. The same thing here, it's "getting shared-out." This confirmed the semantics of that sign.

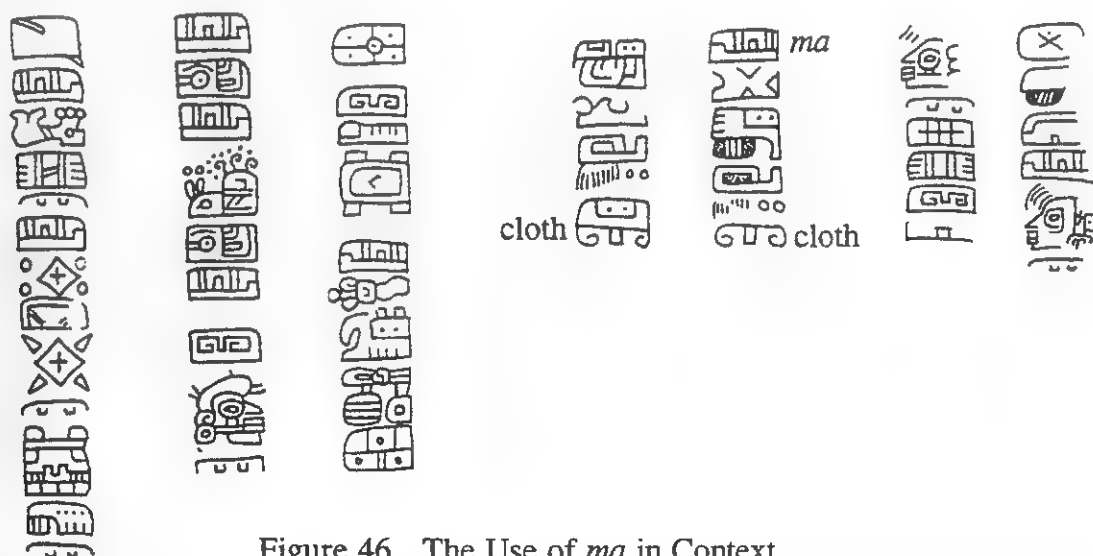


Figure 46. The Use of *ma* in Context.

So from the chronology, we get a new hypothesis about the meaning of a word and because of the reconstruction of the vocabulary we know what the options are for reading it and it's constrained down to 2 possibilities: one of which doesn't look productive. That gives us a 2 sign sequence for a word *ja-ma* and the obvious thing is that it's *ja-ma*. That works out. Now it turns out that this *ma* sign occurs in several other words and every single one of them makes sense in the contexts. The *ja* sign is rarer, but that also works out in the ways that Terry will show you after the break in tightly constrained grammatical contexts. By exploiting the chronological structure, we were able to get something out of it. One thing we got out of this is that the "star" sign is really a "star" sign. Another thing that we got out of this is that agrees with the Mije-Sokean vocabulary is the sign at the end of the word for "day" we get the word for "star."

(Question: How did you break up the text into clauses?) (Terry) Well, we couldn't do that at the beginning. That actually came way, way, way later. (John) In the beginning we were working on the individual words, like the word for "day" which was then tied to the various constraints. We figured out about 7 signs at the first meeting and then, since we were pretty proud of ourselves, we went to write it up, but then we found about 7 more. Every time we met, we doubled the inventory. Once you get constraints, you begin to see how everything works out. It wasn't until we were able to read a lot of this text before all of this started to come together where we could then find values. You could make a stab at the clause boundaries by looking where *wh* occurs or where the *ji* occurs, but actually only about 85% of the *wh* signs have a clause boundary after them and less than that for the *ji* sign. The reason

for this is that there's nothing about those that required a clause to begin or end there. Words begin or end there, but not clauses. It wasn't until we were able to extend it, to know a lot of vocabulary, and to know the grammatical status of each word before we could start putting in clause boundaries.

(Terry) It's well known that beginning in the 70's that a good deal of headway was made in the decipherment and reading of Mayan texts by paying attention to the finer clause boundaries by recognizing certain basic facts. For example, like Mayan sentences begin with a verb or with a predicate and the object comes after that and the subject comes after that. This work was facilitated by Nick Hopkins and Kathryn Josserand who worked up the methodology for analyzing Maya texts. There are ways that Mayan texts are not like Epi-Olmec texts and one of them is that the texts that were first approached with success were texts that had many repetitions of sentences that essentially all the same structure. So these texts were set up in a way that they could be attached to this methodology. As it turns out, the Epi-Olmec texts are not typically sequences of clauses or sentences at the same structure one after the other. There is much more variety in the type of information being conveyed in a sentence. (John) In particular there's lots of sentences in between various dates, whereas in Mayan you get a date and you say what happened as quickly as you can and then you go on to the next date. Here these sentences are more elaborate and there's more of them in between dates. So the chronological markers are there, but there are a lot fewer known texts which makes this a bit more difficult. Okay, so let's take a break now and we will start back at 2 PM.

#### **Lunch Break 12:15 to 2:10 PM**

(Immediately following the lunch-break, a troupe consisting of about a dozen or so friends and staff of the Maya Meetings, nicknamed the Chol Players, presented a skit based "loosely" on the text of the La Mojarra stela.)

## **A TRANSCRIPTION AND STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF THE LA MOJARRA STELA**

(Terry) Okay, for the last chunk of our presentation we want to go through the text on the La Mojarra text passage by passage to discuss some of the features found in the passages (Fig.47). This will be done with respect to what they reveal about the content of the story or the linguistic traits of the writing system. The way we are going to do this is that we are going to actually play a recording of the what the text says in Epi-Olmec and then we will provide an English translation passage by passage. I taped what you are about to hear several days ago and in order to be able to produce it in Epi-Olmec, I had to track down plausible Epi-Olmec words (about 30 of them) for logographic signs that we don't actually have a reading for. The discrepancies that you will hear on this recorded text and what's written in the translations in your workbooks is the difference between what we actually believe it to be and what I made up in order to get a completely clear text.

(John) Okay, you can follow all of the transcription and analysis in your workbook.

**Passage A1-A9 (Fig.48):** "It was the third day of the seventeenth month; the Long Count was 8.5.3.3.5, and the day was 13 Snake." Okay starting at the beginning is a good place to start because this is something that everybody already understands from Mayan Long Counts, but that doesn't mean we shouldn't take a little time here to talk about this. We have several examples of Long Counts in this system and they all have a structure similar to that of Mayan. One of the features that they share in particular are these huge "introducing glyphs" for the Long Count. The glyph consists of a 3-pronged element, the sign for "year" and a variable element that corresponds to what month it is. What is being compared here (Fig.49) is a form of the Patron. Here we have the Mayan Patron of *Pop* (top left) and then we see it showing up at Abaj Takalik (bottom left) in a sequence. This curly snake Patron (top right) also shows up at Abaj Takalik (bottom right). Thus, we know that this curly snake is the Patron on *Kumk'u* at Abaj Takalik. However, both of these dates have Patrons that are 1 month from what we know for the Maya. On the Long Count dates you get the same ritual calendar date for the Long Count that you would have in a Mayan Long Count, but the Patrons are off by one. The day of the month is the same. So it could be that they are giving a ritual calendar date and Long Count date and so they could be on the same date in the Epi-Olmec and the Mayan calendar. However, if that's true then the corresponding months are offset by 20 days. Here we have 15 *Pop* (top left), but recorded below is *Kumk'u*. So it could be that the Long Count dates are exactly the same date among the Epi-Olmec as Mayan, if so the ritual calendar date is the same because they both would mean 13 snake. The alternative is that *Kumk'u* and *Pop* fell at the same time in both systems and the thing that is offset by 20 days are the ritual calendar days and if so, so are the Long Counts. The Long Counts would be 20 days earlier in the Epi-Olmec script than they are in the Mayan script or the months would be 20 days later. We don't just assume that it was the Long Counts that were synchronous and the months were off by 1. However, when we started writing this up, as you will often find, we realized that we left a logical hole in the alternative view and it turns out that when you do this the other way, (when you make the months synchronous and backdate the Long Count by 20 days) it turns out that the initial date is the date of a solar eclipse that was visible at the site sometime between 8 and 10 in the morning. That helped us to understand the next passage.












T R G L FT	A1-S		A1	95	CHRON <sub>1</sub>	
			A2a	110	PATRON <sub>1</sub>	
			A2b	72	YEAR/7AME7 OR DRUM, presumably /kowa/	
			A3	3	3 = /tuka/	
			A4	8	8 = /maktas=tujtu/	
			A5	5	5 = /mo(ko)s/	
			A6	3	3 = /tuka/	
			A7	3	3 = /tuka/	
			A8	5	5 = /mo(ko)s/	
			A9a	13	13, presumably /mak=tuka/	
			A9b	155	DN:SNAKE = /tzajin/	
CHRON <sub>1</sub> LCIG.PATRON <sub>1</sub> +YEAR//DRUM-3 8.5.3.3.5 13=SNAKE tzajin						
It was the third day of the seventeenth month; the long count was 8.5.3.3.5, and the day was 13 Snake.						

Figure 48. Passage A1-A9.

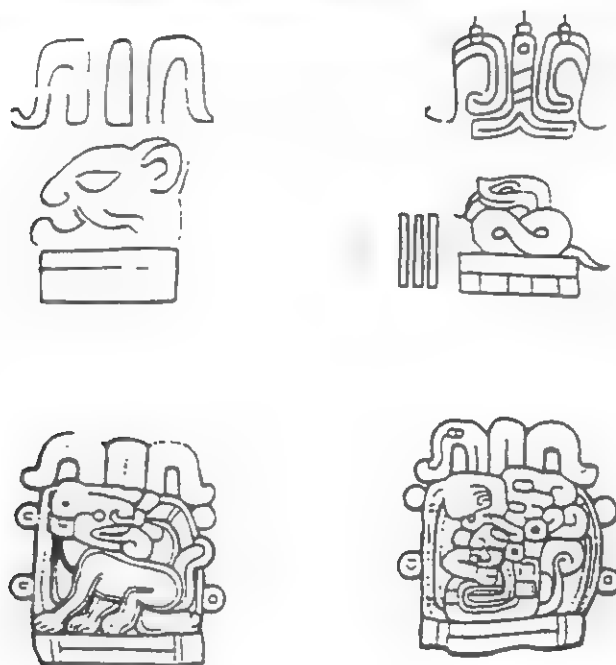


Figure 49. The Patron of *Pop* and the Patron of *Kumk'u*.

**Passage B1-B4 (Fig.50):** "A sun-eating moon [solar eclipse] takes place." (Terry) Alright in this passage we are told what happens on this date. Basically, we are told that a solar eclipse happened. It says literally that "a sun-eating moon takes place." In most Mije-Sokean languages, as in other Mesoamerican languages the eclipsed sun or moon is said to be eaten or sometimes swallowed. The only remaining glyph besides this glyph must be spelling the word for "sun" because the eclipse body is always mentioned in these expressions. It could be a phonetic sign for the syllable *suw* that would spell "sun" or it could be a logogram for "sun." One point worth noting is that the word order in this phrase is as it in Mije-Sokean languages, but not as it would be in Mayan. In Mayan, you might say "eater of sun, moon" or "moon, eater of sun." In either case, the sign for "sun" would come after the sign for "eating." In Zapotec, it would be "moon, that eats the sun" with the moon sign in first position. So this passage provides evidence showing that this inscription is written in a Mije-Sokean language because this is saying "sun-eating moon."

B1-4
















B1a	114	tuk
B1b	143	pa
B2	125	SUN = /suw/ [EN2]
B3	152b	EAT, presumably /ku7s/
B4	104	MOON/POY7A OR TWENTY/7I7PS

T	tukpa	SUN-EAT	MOON
R	0-tuk-pa	suw=ku7s.u7	poy7a
G	3A-happen-II	sun-eat-AN	moon
L	it-happens	sun=eat-ing	moon
FT	A sun-eating moon [solar eclipse] took [lit. takes] place.		

Figure 50. Passage B1-B4.

**Passage B5-C7 (Fig.51):** "Piercingly the bludgeon star [that is Venus] had shone earlier as a late in the day one, [that is as Evening Star]." (John) Okay, we already talked about this passage in connection with using a chronological framework to help nail down some of the stuff in this text. One of the things that's interesting here is this word for "late in the day." It turns out that this *ji* sign that we already have read from another context that comes later, is a really rare syllable. There are only 3 words in the language that contain that as the second syllable of 2 syllable word which this thing has to be. We know that this cannot be a phonetic complement because as we told you, one doesn't spell a "j" before a consonant and so this has to be a full syllable in second position. There are 3 possibilities, but I don't remember the other two. But, one of them was something that happens late in the day or late in the afternoon or evening. This is relative to the current context here because what we are talking about is Venus which can be Morning Star or Evening Star. So what this is saying is that "it was shining as Evening Star." Now the previous passage mentioned that there was a solar eclipse and piercingly earlier Venus shone as Evening Star. What that means is the previous day Venus shone as Evening Star and so this refers to the date before. The other interesting thing about this is this "pierce" sign which is made, more or less, like a Mayan sign that most of you probably know about. This appears as the *hul* glyph in Mayan as the word for "pierce." The sentence actually describes the action of a Venus God in "piercing the victim" depicted here as a jaguar (Fig.52). And so Venus was a "piercer" and in this context we get not only a sign that looked like something being pierced, but it's in the context of Venus and so that combination of these 2 contexts helps to support the notion that this is what it looks like. Just like in the case of the "star" sign the context helps us to know that we are talking about "star." So here, we know that this really is dealing with "piercing."

	B5	23	PIERCE, probably /wu7tz/
	B6	63	ma
	B7	109	pak
	B8	37	ku
	B9	20	wa
	C1	63	ma
	C2a	32	STAR/MATZA7
	C2b	30	tza
	C3	31	?SHINE, probably /kij/
	C4	20	wa
	C5	74	tza <sub>2</sub>
	C6	138	ji
	C7	20	wa

T	PIERCE	ma	pak-ku	wa	ma-STAR+tza
R	wu7tz.w7	ma	pak.kuy7	+wu7	matza7
G	pierce-AN	earlier	beat-NSTR	REL	star
L	piercingly	earlier	bludgeon	-type	star
T	SHINE-wa	tza <sub>2</sub> -ji	wa		
R	0-kij-wa	tza7yji	+wu7		
G	3A-shine-IC	late	REL		
L	it-shone	late	-type		

FT Piercingly the bludgeon star [Venus] had shone earlier, as a late in the day one (i.e. as evening star). [EN3]

Figure 51. Passage B5-C7.

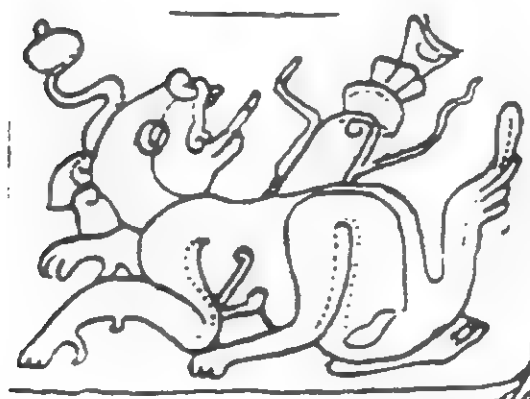
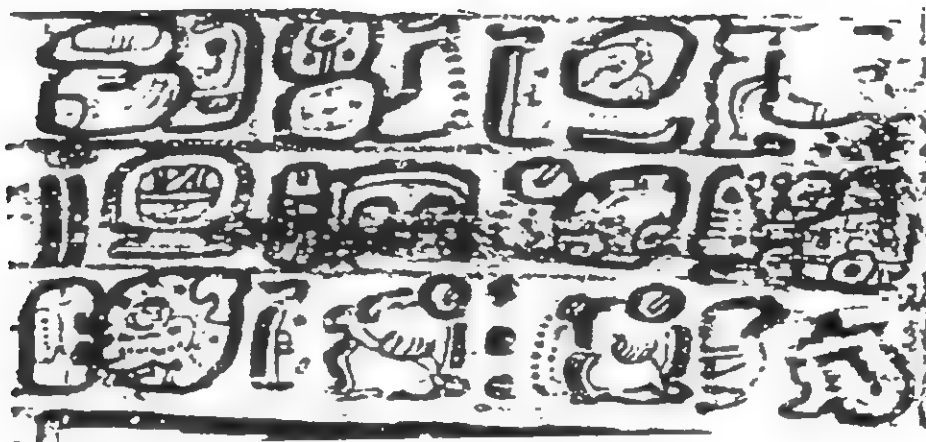











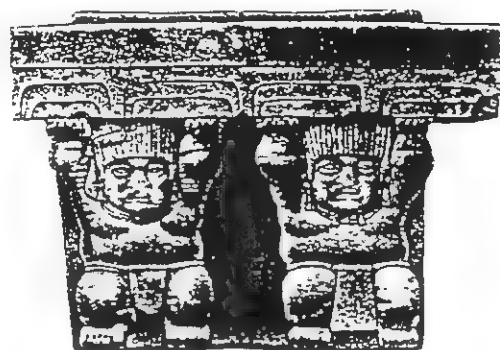
Figure 52. The Mayan Venus God (*Lajun Chan*) Piercing the Jaguar, Dresden Codex).

**Passage D1-F6 (Fig.53): "Coronated ones hallowed by sprinkling fought against nobles and warrior-type succession supporters, that would be successors or usurpers."** (Terry)

This is another passage that's interesting, especially for the implications of its phonetic signs. The verb is spelled completely phonetically as 'i-*kip-wu* "he fought him." This indicates that a battle was fought after Venus was shining just as in the Mayan area, but such a battle was sure to involve many warriors on each side. Once it becomes clear that plurality was involved, these languages don't have to mark it, but they did. So we expect references to battles will be marked as plurals units and they are. The animate plural marker is *ta'm* and it occurs after both the subject and the object of the verb. It is spelled using the *ma* sign that we have seen earlier in *matza* "star." The *ma* sign also spells *masa* as the first member of a compound meaning "holy" and we know that the word *masa*=*wik.i-t'am* is a compound word. Another important feature of this sentence is that it provides another case of agreement with Mije-Sokean word order. The word is active and the subject and the object of this sentence precede the verb. One of the signs that we read as "support" only occurs in this sentence and we interpret as a logogram meaning "support." The sign depicts a hand reaching upward holding something above them. However, this interpretation is not crucial. It could be that is a logogram for something else and any decipherment to be made depends on that reading.

D1-F6

	D1a	129	KNOTTED.CLOTH
	D1b	75	HALLOW/KO.NU7KS
	D2	63	ma
	D3	176a	sa
	D4	150	SPRINKLE/WIK
	D5	127	ta
	D6	63	ma
	E1	184	NOBLE <sub>1</sub> , possibly /sa7.sa7(=pun)/
	E2	181	WAR.LEADER
	E3	20	wa
	E4a	54	kak
	E4b	59	SUPPORT
	F1	127	ta
	F2	63	ma
	F3	38	7i
	F4	170	ki
	F5	179	pi
	F6	20	wa



T	KNOT+HALLOW	ma-sa-SPRINKLE-ta-ma
R	X+ko. nu7ks.i	masa=wik.i-ta7m
G	?-ELSE-greet-PN	god-sprinkle-PN-AP
L	coronated	sprinkling-hallowed-ones
T	NOBLE	WARLEADER wa kak+SUPPORT-ta-ma
R	sa7sa7(=pun)	WARLEADER +wa7 kak.e=SUPPORT.(A7)-ta7m
G	noble(+person) ??	REL support-PN-AP
L	noble	warleader -type replacement-supporters
T	7i-ki-pi-wa	
R	0-7i+kip-wa	
G	3A-3E-fight-IC	
L	they-fought.against-them	

FT Coronated ones hallowed by sprinkling fought against noble(s and)  
war-leader-type succession-supporters [would-be successors/usurpers].  
OR  
Coronated ones hallowed by sprinkling fought against noble (and)  
war-leader-type succession-supporters [would-be successors/usurpers].

Figure 53. Passage D1-F6.



**Passage G1-H2 (Fig.54):** "Earlier a day, a night, and a day had passed." (Terry) Almost all of the glyphs in this passage are phonetic signs that appear elsewhere. *Ma* means "earlier." There are instances of the word *ja-ma* "day" and their meaning is locked in by the context that we've already discussed. The first 4 words in the sequence read "earlier" and a "day" followed by something we don't know and then once again a "day." Then we have the verb *nas-wa* and this is a perfect verb for this context. It means "day passed." Since the passage states that a "day" and "something" and a "day" had passed, the most straightforward thing that this could be is the "night" that passed between the 2 successive days. This is a unique sign and it may not mean "night" but it's not crucial to the decipherment. (Question: Could you identify the "time, sky, night" signs?) The 3 squiggles at the top occurred in several different signs that refer to things happening in the sky and they typically also occur on things referring to chronology. This could be a semantic determiner for "time." The "night" sign are the dots up there which are the "stars" and the "sky" sign is the sort of cross-hatched sign below the squiggles. A temporal entity to that relates to the night and a scene in the sky. In other words, all time that is carried out traditionally refers to stuff that is in the sky. We think that this sign is "night" (left sign), although it could be something else. (John) The reason for thinking its night is because of the context. A day followed by something and another day passes and so this may be a way of counting for why it is that this glyph means "night." We know about these components elsewhere, but they are semantic and this sign which isn't quite right in the drawing (first sign) can be seen better in the syllabary under *tzū*. So we guessed based on this context that this might be a phonetic sign, but it doesn't have to be. Nothing else hinges on this. It's like them end of a food-chain where everything else is filled in around it and this is what's left to be cleaned up.

#### G1-H2

	G1	63	ma
	G2	165	ja
	G3	63	ma
	G4a	96a	TIME <sub>d</sub>
	G4b	136	SKY <sub>d</sub>
	G4c	163	?NIGHT = /tzu7/ OR ?<tzu>
	G5	165	ja
	G6	63	ma
	G7	44	na
	H1	176a	sa
	H2	20	wa


T	ma	ja-ma	TIME <sub>d</sub> +SKY <sub>d</sub> =?NIGHT	ja-ma	na-sa-wa
R	ma	jama	tzu7	jama	0-nas-wa
G	earlier	day	night	day	3A-pass-IC
L	earlier	day	night	day	it-passed
FT	Earlier a day, a night, and a day had passed;				

[The evening of 8.5.3.3.7. The day was 2 Deer, the 5th day of the seventeenth month; 3 May 143 CE.]

Figure 54. Passage G1-H2.

**Passage H3-I4 (Fig.55):** "when behold, there was a prisoner for 13 years." (John) Okay, this sign sequence occurs in a couple of other instances. It always appears before a number followed a sign for "year." This pattern was also recognized and written up by Lloyd Anderson. The context at the beginning of this clause before the adverb was not reconstructed, but it turned out back in 1991 that Terry found out that there was a reconstructable form 'is that is based on a word for "to see" but it's used to say "look here" or "behold." This reconstructable form fits a context like this. The prisoner glyph here, for reasons that we will discuss later, is interesting. We had to have a word for prisoner somewhere in the text between 2 points and so we didn't have any other candidate since everything else was filled in. Since this was the only thing left it had to be the prisoner glyph. There are only like 3 different words that mean "prisoner" in these languages and 2 of them were ruled out because the phonetic signs involved differ. We transcribe this word as *pit.i* and *pit* is the root meaning "to bind something up." Thus, it seems to fit and so that the story here.

### H3-I4

	H3	38	7i
	H4	101	si <sub>2</sub>
	I1	13	13, presumably /mak=tuka/
	I2	72	YEAR/7AME7 or DRUM
	I3	85	BUNDLE/PIT
	I4	64	ti





T 7i-si<sub>2</sub> THIRTEEN YEAR BUNDLE-ti  
R 7is mak=tuka 7ame7 0-pit.i  
G see ten-three year 3A-tie-PN  
L behold thirteen year it-is-prisoner  
FT (when) behold, there was a prisoner for thirteen years.

[13 year time increment leads to 8.5.16.3.7. The day was 2 Deer, on the 260th day of the year – quite possibly a ritually significant date in its own right. This was two days, and one or two nights, after a penumbral lunar eclipse, magnitude 66%, which was visible at La Mojarra and the Tuxtla Mountains, and which would have occurred on the 13th anniversary of the beginning of the battle. It was also an approximate Venus anniversary of the date of the Venus event.]

I1-4: cf. N7-8 word play on 'prisoner' and 'bundled'

Figure 55. Passage H3-I4.

**Passage I5-J5 (Fig.56):** "And then there was an imprisonment that was 6 months." (John) Okay, this is the remains of that *pit* sign again and this is the *ti*. One thing that's worth noting is that the *pit* sign has a line connecting it to like we saw before. We noticed that this might relate to the meaning of the "binding" because this doesn't really connect grammatically to what goes before it, but actually it goes after it. This expression here and the way we knew it was the month sign is that we have the sign *wa*. It's appearance indicates that it marks the end of a word and so it's a 2 sign sequence and so it's probably phonetic. *Poy'a* is the only word around for "month." They use the image for "moon" for a "20 day period" in the Mije calendar and so this is not a European practice that has been imposed upon this. The use of this sign for both the "moon" and for "20 days" explains why the Maya and others might use the "moon" sign to represent the period for 20 days. The Mayan vocabulary doesn't seem to provide that explanation does, but Mije-Sokean and other Mesoamerican languages use the word for those things even though the lunation of the moon is 50% longer than the 20 days.




	I5	34	AND.THEN
	I6	85	BUNDLE/PIT
	J1	64	ti
	J2	6	6 = /tujtu/
	J3	122	po
	J4	49	7a
	J5	20	wa

T	AND.THEN	BUNDLE-ti	SIX	po-7a	wa
R	AND.THEN	0-pit.i	tujtu	poy7a	+wa7
G	and.then	3A-tie-PN	six	month	REL
L	and.then	it-is-prisoner	six	month	-type
FT	And then	there was an imprisonment that was for six months.			

Figure 56. Passage I5-J5.

**Passage J6-J8 (Fig.57):** "He, [that is the protagonist], speaks:" (Terry) Right after this verb the text shifts from a 3<sup>rd</sup> person narrative to the 1<sup>st</sup> person (I do "x"). This sort of shift requires some verb of speaking. Three verbs of speaking are reconstructable in Sokean. Two of them would be spelled with 2 syllabograms before the verb suffix: *num* "to say" and *'otuw* "to speak." The signs here are nailed down here by a context that we will discuss later. This word yielded signs for the syllable *'o* and *tu* and both readings are verified in other contexts. Who speaks is not specified here. You would think it's the prisoner, but it's not as is made clear momentarily. What we will see is that it is the child who is speaking. He is about to handed the prisoner and to be installed as ruler.

	J6	97	7o
	J7	93	tu
	J8	143	pa





  

T	7o-tu-pa
R	0-7otuw-pa
G	3A-speak-II
L	he-speaks
FT	He [HML] speaks:

Figure 57. Passage J6-J8.

**Passage K1-K4 (Fig.58):** "My arm is bristling or prickling." (Terry) That is the hair on his arm is standing on end. The point of this statement is that the little boy is really scared and is confronting a prisoner whose head he has to chop off.








K1-4

	K1	44	na
	K2	124	ku
	K3	93	tu
	K4	103+101	si

T na-ku tu-si  
R na+ku7 0-tus.i  
G XE-hand 3A-prick-PN  
L my-arm it-is-bristling/prickling  
FT "My arm is bristling/prickling."

Figure 58. Passage K1-K4.

**Passage K5-L3 (Fig.59):** "said the youthful commanding general Harvester Mouter-Lord" (John) This sentence doesn't have a verb, but this passage explains who's talking: Harvester Mountain-Lord. This appears to be a parenthetical statement, but you also know from Linda Schele's introductory stuff on the phenomena of gapping that this may be what's going on here. If you have the same verb referring to the same action in a couple of instances, in nearby sentences, you can drop that one out so that it occurs only once. That is what we suppose is going on here. As far as the other signs in here, this "knife-like" sign that's in the passage here is also in his headdress on the front of the monument. This in all likelihood refers to the blade-like thing in his headdress. The name of tools for doing certain things are usually derived from a verb for whatever it is that they are doing and so this would call for some sort of verb relating to "cutting." But it is also the first verb in the whole text where they saying the solar eclipse happened and it turns out that *tuk* is a word for something "to take place" and it also refers to "cutting" in particular "to harvesting things by cutting them up." The "mountain" sign is a sign that a lot of people have pointed out. Finally, this sign with the little dotted legs seems to be a sign for "mountain lord."

	K5	140	tze
	K6	101	si
	K7	20	wa
	L1	182	STB+VENUS+REEDS+BEAD = COMMANDING.GENERAL
	L2	114	tuk
	L3a	119	MOUNTAIN = /kotzak/
	L3b	57	LORD/KO.YUMI

T tzu-si wa COMMANDING.GENERAL tuk MOUNTAIN+LORD  
R tzusi +wa7 COMMANDING.GENERAL tuk.w7 kotzak ko.yumi  
G child REL ?? harvest-AN mountain ELSE-leader  
L child -type commanding.general harvester mountain lord  
FT (said) the youthful commanding general Harvester Mountain-Lord [EN4]

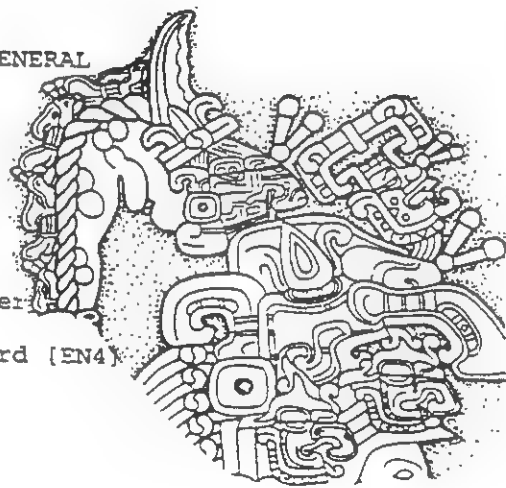








Figure 59. Passage K5-L3.

**Passage L4-L9 (Fig.60):** “When I chopped off his head, he was ruined or it was his ruin.” (Terry) The last word in here can be interpreted 2 ways. It can be an adjective derived from a verb meaning “it was fouled up” or “he was screwed.” Now the first word here is *na-tzetzi* meaning “when I chopped it.” Dependent verb forms like this one was recognized strictly from the structure of these individual words. That is, they begin with an ergative marker and end with a dependent suffix *-ji* or *-i*. However, it also turns out that these dependent verbs always precede the independent clause that occurs in the same sentence as I explained this morning. This is a regularity in the grammar of the language that comes from the decipherment. We did not know at the time that this was going to turn out to be the case. In context, all of the dependent verb forms turn out to be a “when-clause” as it does here: “when I chopped, it was his ruin.” At the time that we first recognized these dependent forms and their interpretation we had no evidence that any Mije-Sokean language used them as “when-clauses” but we discovered that this exact usage exists today in one of the most conservative Sokean languages that being Santa María Chimalapa. This helps to confirm the semantics and several chunks of the decipherment. Also in the drawing by George Stuart it’s not clear that there are 2 instances of the same sign side-by-side (L5), but our examination of the monument shows that the 2 signs are the same. We were also able to show the 2 axes here at (L6). (John) One thing about the drawing by George Stuart, these look like they were probably the same sign. However, when George made his drawing he didn’t have the same working situation that we did. When I say that I mean we spent many days looking at these signs using artificial lights. It is amazing just how accurate George’s drawing really is. Except for this one, George missed very few details.

The context here was interesting because it appears that we have something that looks like a phonetic complement to the verb. If you recall, the text just mentioned a battle and then we have this event taking place involving axes, so by analogy to Mayan we thought about the possibility of beheading so we looked for a verb dealing with “chopping.” The word ended up being *tzetzi* that is the word used for “cutting something off.” This pattern, that we talked about in the introductory section, of having an ergative marker coupled with 1 to 3 signs later, getting this sign (*ji*) occurs about 6 times in the text. So this seemed to be grammatical construction that matched a dependent verb context where you start out with an ergative marker and end up with a suffix. The dependent suffixes on incompletives are all just one vowel *-i* or *-e* and so if this suffix represented that form then the dependent marker on sets would be *-e* so that the whole word would be *na-tzetze*. However, in order to spell that final mark is *tze*, but we already have that *tze* twice up here and it’s not this. That means that this suffix has to be suffix that gives a CVV, not just a vowel suffix. The only one that is available is this *-ji* dependent suffix in the shape of CV. That forced us to read this sign as *-ji*.

L4-9

	L4	44	na
	L5	133+133	tze+tze
	L6	115	CHOP/TZETZ
	L7	138	ji
	L8	63	ma
	L9	20	wu

T na-tze+tze-CHOP-ji ma-wu  
 R 0-na+tzetz-ji 0-maw.u7  
 G 3A-XE-chop-DC 3A-ruin-PN  
 L when-I-chopped-him/it he-is-ruined  
 FT "When I chopped (off his head), he was ruined/it was his ruin."

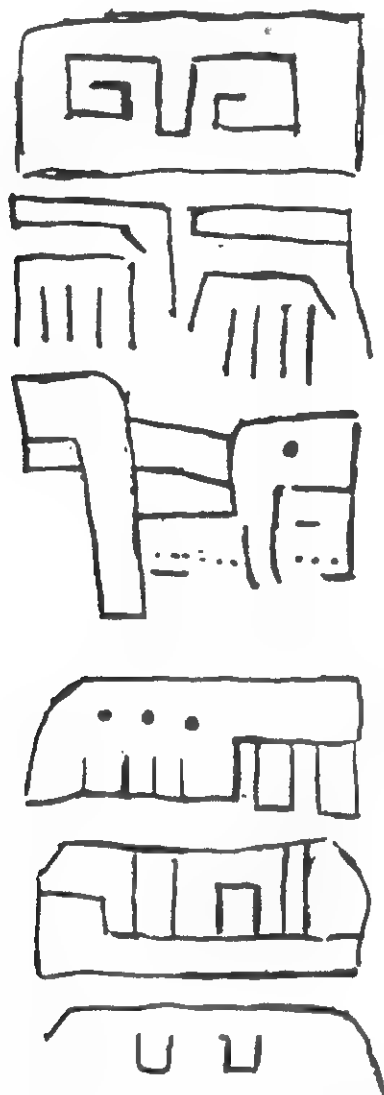


Figure 60. Passage L4-L9.

**Passage M1-M7 (Fig.61):** "As for the ascent or accession, that was how the aforementioned one, namely the prisoner, saw or witnessed it." (John) Okay, this is basically gloating: he's saying "you want to see a successor installed, here he is." And that's the sense of it here. The prisoner who was involved in the attempt to get a new succession in place is seeing judgement coming down on him from the ascending ruler. In this case, "go-up" is actually the root of the word "to rule" *ki'm*. Based on the spelling rules that Terry talked about earlier concerning how logograms get dealt with, this has to be a nominalization of the verb *ki'm* (M1). This is an instance of that spelling that we talked about where *i'i* spelled like *i* so in this case what we would expect since he said "someone saw somebody" there should be a subject and object and there's an extra ergative marker. Thus, you would expect to spell '*i-i-si-wu*', but one of the '*i*'s is deleted.








M1-7				
		M1	171	GO.UP/KI7M
		M2	153	je
		M3	140	tzu
		M4	56	te
		M5	38	7i
		M6	103+101	si
		M7	20	wu
T	GO.UP	je-tzu	te	7i-si-wu
R	ki7m.u7	je7.tzu	te7	0-<7i+>7is-wu
	OR ki7m.i7			
G	go.up-AN	yon-manner	that	3A-3E-see-IC
L	ascent	that.way	the.latter	he-saw-it
	OR ascending.one			
FT	As for the ascent/installation/accession OR ascending one, that was how the latter/aforementioned (the prisoner) saw/witnessed it/him.			

Figure 61. Passage M1-M7.

**Passage M8-M16 (Fig.62):** "It was the 15<sup>th</sup> day of the first month; the Long Count was 8.5.16.9.7 and the day was 5 Deer." (John) That's all we need to know about that!

















M8-16				
		M8	95	CHRON <sub>1</sub>
		M9a	152	PATRON <sub>1</sub>
		M9b	72	YEAR/7AME7 OR DRUM
		M10	15	15, presumably /yat/ OR /mak=mokos/
		M11	8	8 = /tuku=tujtu/
		M12	5	5 = /mo(ko)s/
		M13	16	16, presumably /mak=tujtu/
		M14	9	9 = /maktas=tujtu/
		M15	7	7, presumably /kuy/ OR /was=tujtu/
		M16a [effaced]	5	= /mo(ko)s/
		M16b	154	DN:DEER. presumably /mu7a/
T	CHRON <sub>1</sub> LCIG.PATRON <sub>1</sub> +YEAR//DRUM-15 8.5.16.9.7 [5]=DEER			
R				
G				
FT	It was the fifteenth day of the first month; the long count was 8.5.16.9.7, and the day was 5 Deer.			

Figure 62. Passage M8-M16.

**Passage Ni-N4 (Fig.63):** "For 4 months was the sprouting." (Terry) Okay this 4 month period brings us forward to September 11, 156 CE. This 80-day period that is classified here corresponds to the rainiest part of the rainy season. The context is semantically constrained and so there's nothing about the context strongly requires the reading *wo'm* for describing the interpretation we raise here. It's simply not inconsistent with the context. If we read this sign as a syllabogram it could be the syllable *ka* and it could be spelling the word *kama* or "cornfield." Both of these words, that are possible only and not required, have an agricultural reference.





N1-4

	N1	4	4 = /maktas/
	N2a	96a	TIME <sub>a</sub>
	N2b	137b	MONTH = /poy7a/
	N3	116+42	?wo
	N4	63	ma

T	FOUR	TIME <sub>a</sub> +MONTH	wo-ma
R	maktas	poy7a	0-wo7m.a7
G	four	month	3A-sprout-AN
L	four	month	it-is-sprout
FT	For four months was the sprouting;		

Figure 63. Passage N1-N4.

**Passage N5-N8 (Fig.64):** "When he goes up or ascends, the year is bundled." (John) There are various free translations of this passage and the syntax isn't clear enough to say anything too definitive. The one thing that is secure about this passage is that we interpret this as a time count forward 1 year in principle by referring to the characteristics of a given year. What exactly is being bundled or bound we are not sure. It's not the end of a 52 year cycle and it's not near the beginning or end of a year. However, by this time the ruler would have been in office for at least a full year and 4 months, but we really don't know what's being cycled here.

	N5	38	7i
	N6	171	GO.UP/KI7M
	N7	72	YEAR/7AME7 OR DRUM
	N8	85	BUNDLE/PIT





T	7i-GO.UP	YEAR	BUNDLE
R	7i+ki7m-i	7ame7	0-pit.i
G	3E-go.up-DI	year	3A-tie-PN
L	when-he/it/they-go(es).up	year	it-is-bundle
FT	When he goes up/ascends, the year is bundled.		
	OR		
	When he/they go(es).up/ascend, a(nother) year is (in a) bundle(d).		
	OR		
	When he goes.up/ascends, there/it is a year-bundle.		
	OR		
T	7i-GO.UP-YEAR	BUNDLE	
R	7i+ki7m.a7=7ame7	0-pit.i	
G	3E-go.up-AN-year	3A-tie-PN	
L	his-ascent-year	it-was-bundle	
FT	His ascent/re-accession year was (a) bundled (thing).		

Figure 64. Passage N5-N8.



**Passage N9-N12 (Fig.65):** "His lot got scattered." (John) Okay, the grammatical structure of this phrase is clear enough because there's a completive verb and it's intransitive because there is no ergative marker in front. It is also followed by a possessed noun and so in general terms it reads something like "his [noun] got [verb]." Well, we have to start somewhere that's the idea about language models; it gives us constraints. The word order also matches the word order we find in general. As Terry mentioned for the basic word order of Mije-Sokean languages you have subject/object/verb and so a transitive verb is subject/object/verb or subject/verb/object and for intransitive verbs it would be subject/verb. It turns out that in these texts subject/verb is used for active intransitive verbs rather than being used for a verb where the subject is the agent accomplishing something. However, you get verb/subject order if it's non-active usually where the subject is undergoing the action. So if this were someone who did the sprinkling we would have gotten the subject before the verb, but since it's stuff that got a verb, you get it after the verb. This was something that the initial interpretation was based on part on the forms of the signs involved. You have grammatical markers to tell us something about the structure, but we basically don't look at the pictures to see what they might represent and come up with words for them. You can't help where you get ideas from and this certainly calls to mind the Mayan scattering glyph (N9), but we don't follow up on that unless there's something else in the immediate context that helps to confirm that point. If you have 2 things in the same context that points to the same interpretation then we're willing to waste our time and consider it. We can see in the Mayan texts a scattering verb and something is flowing out of the hand that's beaded and the same thing appears here, except the 2 flows are going the opposite ways (N12). Thus in this case, we get something that seems to correspond to the scattering action and at the same time something that seems to correspond with what would flow from a hand that made us consider this interpretation (Fig.66). As it turned out, this verb which is read *puw-wa* is written phonetically since this *pu* sign appears later on in the text which confirms the interpretation. An important feature of this with respect of the grammar of Mije-Sokean is that in Mayan languages and in other languages you can't take a transitive verb like "he scatters it" and turn it into a intransitive like "it got scattered" without having some grammatical affix to change it from a transitive form to an intransitive form. In Mije-Sokean languages there's a large number of transitive verbs (about 1 in 6) that does that in any language and so this is actually a Mije-Sokean grammatical pattern to be able to use that verb intransitively that way.

**N9-12**

	N9	147	pu
	N10	20	wa
	N11	38	7i
	N12	58	OFFERING, perhaps LOTS or PRECIOUS STONES (or both)

T	pu-wa	7i-OFFERING
R	0-puw-wa	7i+OFFERING
G	3A-scatter-IC	3E-offering
L	it-got-scattered	his-offering
FT	His offering got scattered.	

Figure 65. Passage N9-N12.








**Passage N13-N17 (Fig.67):** “In that governor’s headdress was a skin-drum and a hummingbird.” (Terry) This is presumably a reference to Harvester Mountain-Lord. The 2-part element is widely analogous visually to comparable 2-part titles in Mayan writing. Birds are odd artifacts to appear in headdresses and we can’t say that the point of this passage is entirely clear. The first sign in this passage was apparently identified by several people familiar with Olmec iconography as being an “animal skin.” We agree that the formal parallel is so precise that there can be little doubt that this is what the sign depicts and so we accepted this identification. The next sign (N10) is the “year” sign that we saw earlier. As we mentioned earlier the Epi-Olmec “year” sign was like the Mayan “year” sign. The Mayan “year” sign has generally been agreed to in origin a depiction of a “split-log drum.” A similar sign at Abaj Takalik supports this identification. The sign is sometimes used as word for “drum” rather than “year.” Since a word *tun* for “drum” is pronounced the same as the word for “year” in Mayan, this makes sense in Mayan, but in Mije-Sokean. As a result this looks like a sign that has been borrowed from Mayan writing. We were on the lookout for evidence that these were the signs for “drum” rather than “year.” This context provides that evidence. A “skin-year” or a hide-year” is not straightforward interpretable, but a “skin-drum” is indeed a particular kind of drum that is found in the ethnohistorical materials. The “hummingbird” reading (15-N16) is somewhat dicey, but it validates an interesting case. If you look at the outline of the foreground element you will see that it parallels that of the background element (N15) except that the background one has a gap between its left and right halves. This suggests a hypothesis that this glyph was intended to be a reduplicated sign with one instance overlaid upon the other. On the assumption that this then is a reduplicated syllabogram of the shape CV, if we search for through the reconstructed vocabulary, we found that there was only 1 word that would be spelled the same in 2 subsequent syllable: that being *su-su*. The only word that would be spelled *su-su* is *su’ksu’* which means “hummingbird.” Now again, nothing depends on that sign being read *su-su* or being associated with hummingbirds, but we would point out that hummingbirds are important symbolic birds in Mesoamerican iconography and myth. We were not looking for hummingbirds it sort of came and slapped us in the face.

Now the other important thing is this sign here at N16. One advantage of having a model for the structure of the language being represented is that we can strategically seek evidence of particular kinds of linguistic data by looking through the kinds of contexts in which they characteristically appear. One category of words that is likely to appear in a narrative text are demonstratives. Mayanists have started to find demonstratives, however, it wasn’t until a few years ago before they found 1<sup>st</sup> person and 2<sup>nd</sup> person forms. The kind of context that can highlight their occurrence and make it possible for us to recognize it is when similar passages occur with this form here (N16) contrasted with this “fire” form here (R21). This entire passage is repeated later in the text (R18-R22), but with only 1 glyph different. On the assumption that one passage has one demonstrative reference and the other passage has a different demonstrative reference and on the assumption that the later passage is going to be closer in time to the time when this inscription was actually made, we take the later case to be a demonstrative “this” and we take the earlier case to be the demonstrative “that” because it’s farther in time. This means that we have 2 readings for a syllabograms. These are grammatical words. They are not going to be spelled iconographically. There are going to be spelled by syllabic signs. The word for “this” is *yu’* and if the hypothesis is correct then we have a way of spelling *yu*. The word for “yon” or “that one over there” is *je’* and if the hypothesis is correct, we have a syllabogram *je’*. (John) Terry was willing to work this out

because he was looking for some context that would highlight the appearance of demonstratives. This was the perfect example because of the substitution pattern. Those those of you who understand Mayan, may recognize that this sign looks like the Mayan sign *ya* (R21). So you may think that the reason for assigning this sign with this value has something to do with our looking at the sign and thinking that it looks like a *ya* to make it work. The fact is, Terry didn't know anything about this at this time, and so I discovered this little gem.

N13-17

	N13	33	SKIN, presumably /naka/
	N14	72	YEAR/7AME7 or DRUM, presumably /kowa/
	N15	55+55	?su+?su
	N16	153	je
	N17	60	GOVERNOR('s headdress)

R18-22

	R18
	R19
	R20
	R21
	R22

T	SKIN-DRUM	su+su	je	GOVERNOR
R	0-naka=kowa	su7ksu7	je7	GOVERNOR
G	3A-skin-drum	hummingbird	yon	governor
L	it-is-skin-drum	hummingbird	yon	governor
FT	That governor('s headdress) was a skin-drum (and a) hummingbird. [EN5]			

Figure 67. Passage N13-N17 and Passage R18-R22.

I would like to mention one thing that we failed to cover when we talked about spelling conventions (Fig.68) because it's relevant to this last passage. Some of you may have noticed that there's a strong consonant that didn't get spelled out in the word *su'ksu'k* (N15), mainly the "k." It was spelled *su-su* rather than *su'k-su*. This is a general principle and we only have about 5 contexts in which to locate in. It turns out that in a root or syllable the only time you will get consonant cluster that doesn't involve a weak consonant, is that either "p" or "k" can occur before an "s." It seems like there's a strange restriction of the possible sound sequences and so they spell it as though there wasn't such a weird restriction. That is to say, nothing can occur before "s." So if you were to get a word like *mi'ks* or *su'ksu* where you have a "k" before an "s" or a word like *ju'ps.i* where you have a "p" before an "s" they just ignore that weak consonant and they spell the "s" which is the final position in the syllable.
















	7i		mi		7i		7o
	au		si <sub>2</sub>		BLOOD		wa
	si		na		mi		ju
			wu		si		su+su
7i+nuks-i		mi7ks-nay7-wu		7i+nu7pin=mi7ks.i		su7ksu7	
when it flows		it had been quivering		when it quivered		hummingbird	
				bloodily			
						7owa=ju7ps.i	
						macaw-lashing	

Figure 68. The "P" and "K" Before an "S" Rule.

**Passage N18-N29 (Fig.69):** “ His Macaw power, his flint sword, and his pectoral stone memento got brandished.” (Terry) Okay, this passage is another instance of a Mije-Sokean pattern that we saw with *pu-wa* where a transitive verb can be used medio-passively without any intransitivizing affixes. The verb lacks an ergative prefix for the patient (the thing that is acted on), rather than the agent or the action in this grammatical subject. As usual for non-active verbs (that is verbs that lack agents) the verb appears to be following its grammatical subject. The person who’s possessed now provides a description of the object that appears in the scene before Harvester Mountain-Lord’s face (Fig.70).

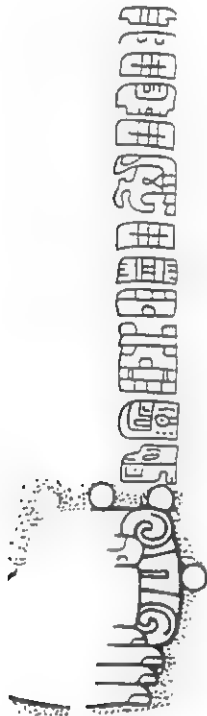
N18-29			
	N18	50	pe
	N19	20	wa
	N20	38	7i
	N21	51	MACAW.POWER1 [EN6]
	N22	38	7i
	N23	83	ECCENTRIC.FLINT
	N24	38	7i
	N25	37	ku
	N26	67	MIDDLE/KUK
	N27	74	tza <sub>2</sub>
	N28	165	ja
	N29	169	me
T	pe-wa	7i-MACAW.POWER <sub>1</sub>	7i-ECCENTRIC.FLINT
R	0-pey-wa	7i+MACAW.POWER	7i+ECCENTRIC.FLINT
G	3A-brandish-IC	3E-??	3E-??
L	they-got-brandished	his-macaw.power	his-eccentric.flint
T	7i-ku-MIDDLE-tza <sub>2</sub> -ja-me		
R	7i+kuk=tza7=jam.e		
G	3E-middle-stone-remember-PN		
L	his-middle-stone-remembrance		
FT	His Macaw.power, his eccentric.flint, and his pectoral stone memento got brandished.		

Figure 69. Passage N18-N29.

(Terry) I am going to show you a couple of transparencies here so that you can see the scene first (Fig.70). The same thing also appears, rotated 90 degrees, in his hand. This ornament occurs on the back of the 7 Macaw (Bird-God) Character in the famous vessel here one of which has a blowgunner on the lid and the other a bird-god that appears in the text at O5 that we call the Macaw Monster (Fig.71).

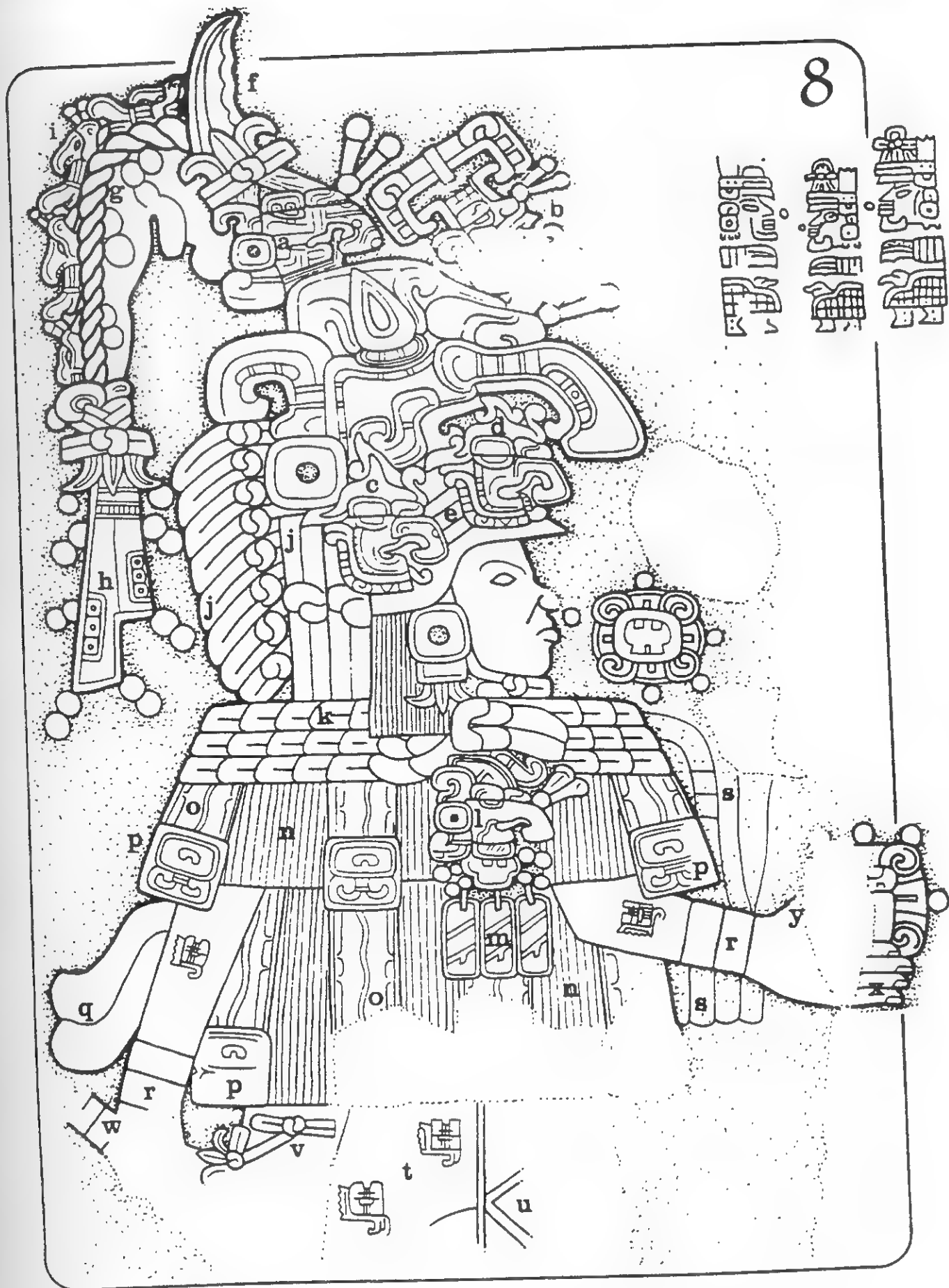


Figure 70. The Unusual Ornaments on La Mojarra Stela 1.

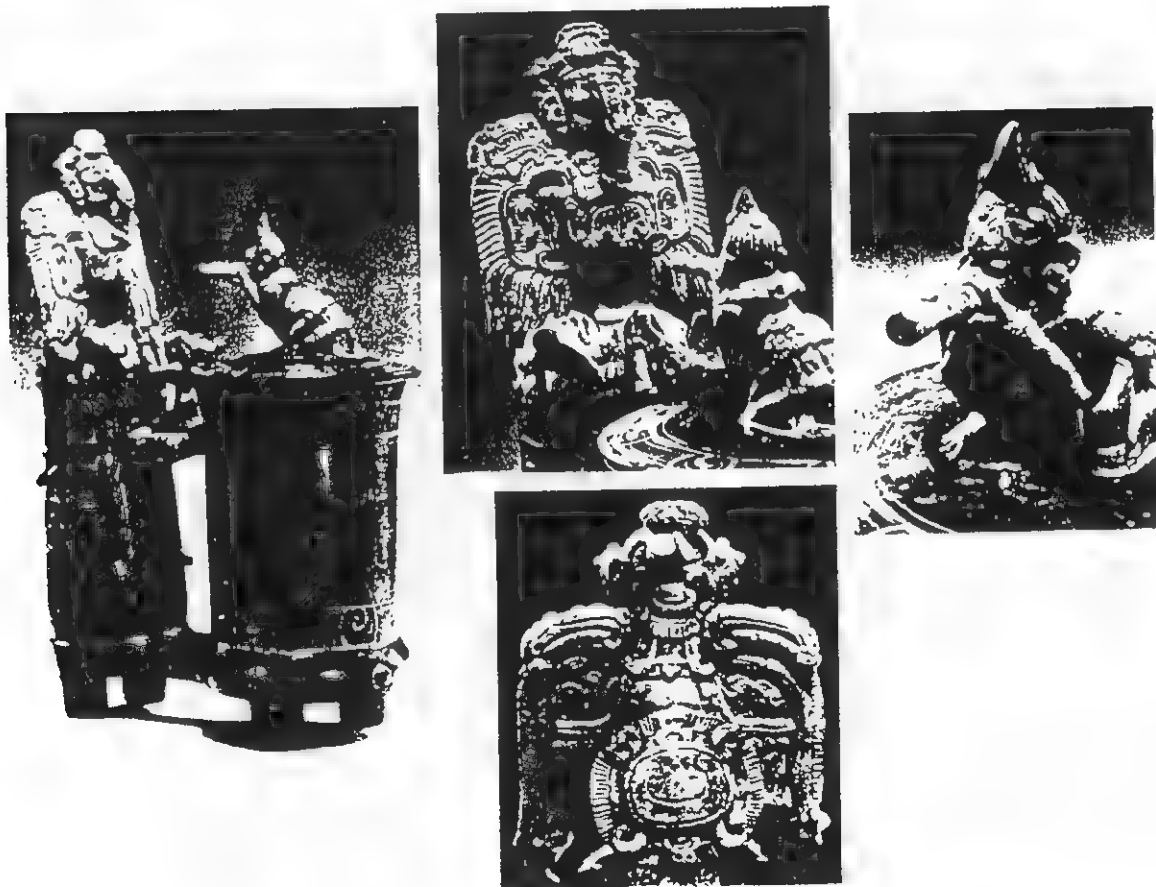


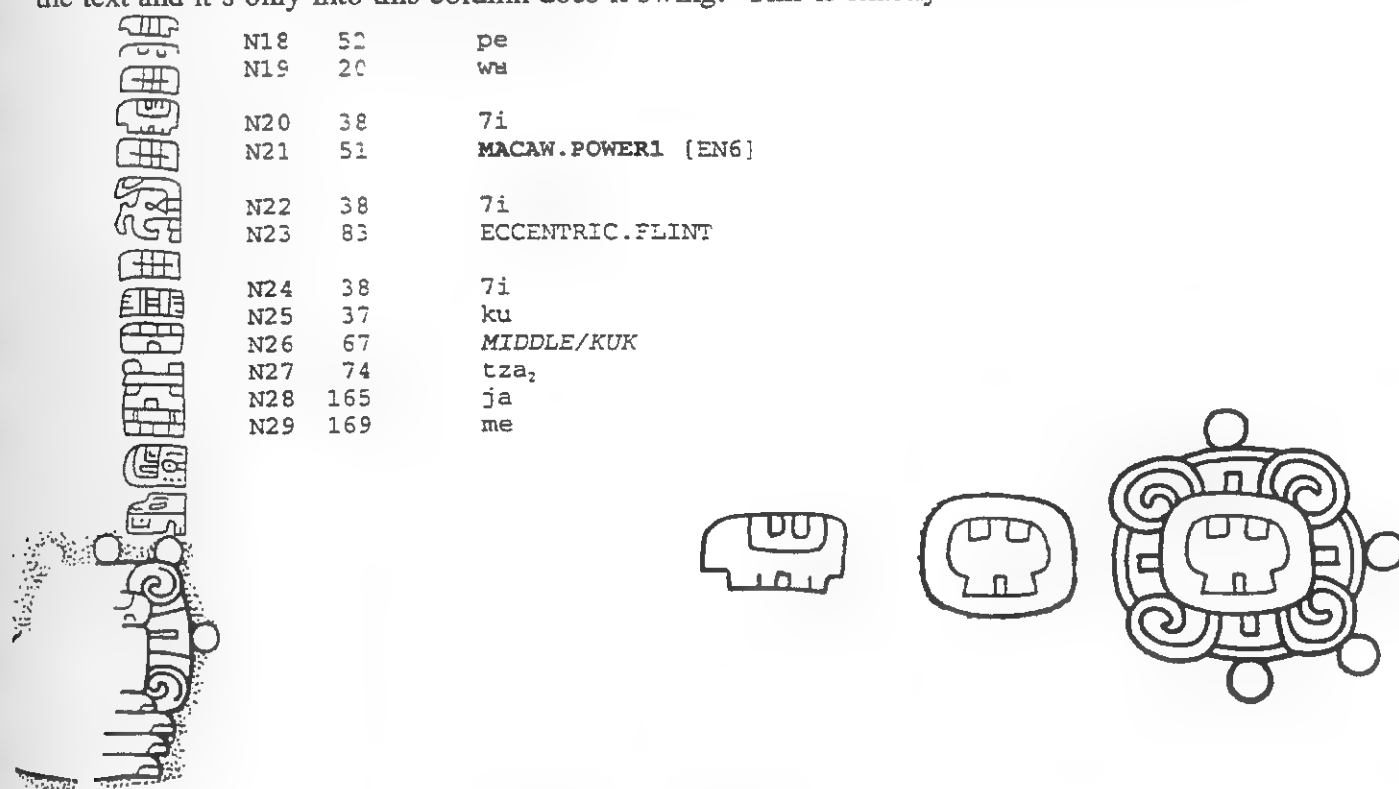
Figure 71. The Famous Early Classic "Blowgunner Pot" (Photo by Justin Kerr).

As a result we nicknamed the glyph at N21, "Macaw Power" because we take it that this is one of a series of the 3 items belonging to Harvester Mountain-Lord. In all likelihood, Harvester Mountain-Lord was the agent of the action being done to these 3 items. The 3<sup>rd</sup> possessed item is almost entirely spelled out phonetically (Fig.72). The sequence reads *'i-ku-middle-tza-ja-me* (N24-N29) meaning "his middle stone remembrance." The sign "middle" appears to occur in the text of Kaminaljuyu Stela 10 also. Anyway, the word *kuk* means "middle" and by extension "chest." *Jam.e* is "remember" or "remembrance" and it's a noun that's been derived from the root *jam* "to remember." "His pectoral stone memento" evidently refers to the elaborate object depicting a Long-Lipped God that dangles on Harvester Mountain-Lord's chest. It suggests that the Macaw Power probably refers to physical object in his hand.

(John) If you look at the glyphs here, they all have that small sign and so it appears to be a representation of this guy (the guy featured on the blowgunner pot) and so this appears to be a regular association of him glyphically. (Terry) We suppose that the 2<sup>nd</sup> possessed item also refers to some physical object worn or held by Harvester Mountain-Lord. That item is seemingly spelled by a logogram that occurs later in the text surrounded by titles or symbols of authority. Therefore, we suppose that here in this context it refers to a physical authority symbol. Among the diagnostic features of the sign is an elaborate outline reminiscent of

eccentric flints (N22-N23). We suspect that symbol is what is being grasped in Harvester Mountain-Lord's right hand. As you can see, this object in his right hand has a long handle, but the diagnostic part of the image has been destroyed. So we don't know if it held, for example, an eccentric flint.

The verb is spelled by a syllabogram for the syllable *pe* whose reading we knew from its occurrence in the spelling of *kakpe* 'scorpion' followed by the sign for *wa* (N18N19). There's only 1 reconstructable Sokean word has a stem that can be spelled with the syllabic sign *pe* and that word is *pey* which means "to swing something" usually by hand. We find this to be remarkable confirmation of this interpretation in the relation of the text to the image. The clause describes the action as "swinging of the authority symbols" (the one that dangles from Harvester Mountain-Lord's chest and the objects in his hands). It turns out that Harvester Mountain-Lord's hand holding the Macaw Power symbol swings right into the text in column N and it does so just below the end of the clause that describes that very action (Fig.73). (John) Here you can see where Harvester Mountain-Lord is swinging his hand into the text and it's only into this column does it swing. This is exactly at the end of this clause.



T	pe-wa	7i-MACAW.POWER <sub>1</sub>	7i-ECCENTRIC.FLINT
R	0-pey-wa	7i+MACAW.POWER	7i+ECCENTRIC.FLINT
G	3A-brandish-IC	3E-??	3E-??
L	they-got-brandished	his-macaw.power	his-eccentric.flint
T	7i-ku-MIDDLE-tza <sub>2</sub> -ja-me		
R	7i+kuk=tza <sub>7</sub> =jam.e		
G	3E-middle-stone-remember-PN		
L	his-middle-stone-remembrance		

FT His Macaw.power, his eccentric.flint, and his pectoral stone memento got brandished.

Figure 72. Passage N18-B29.



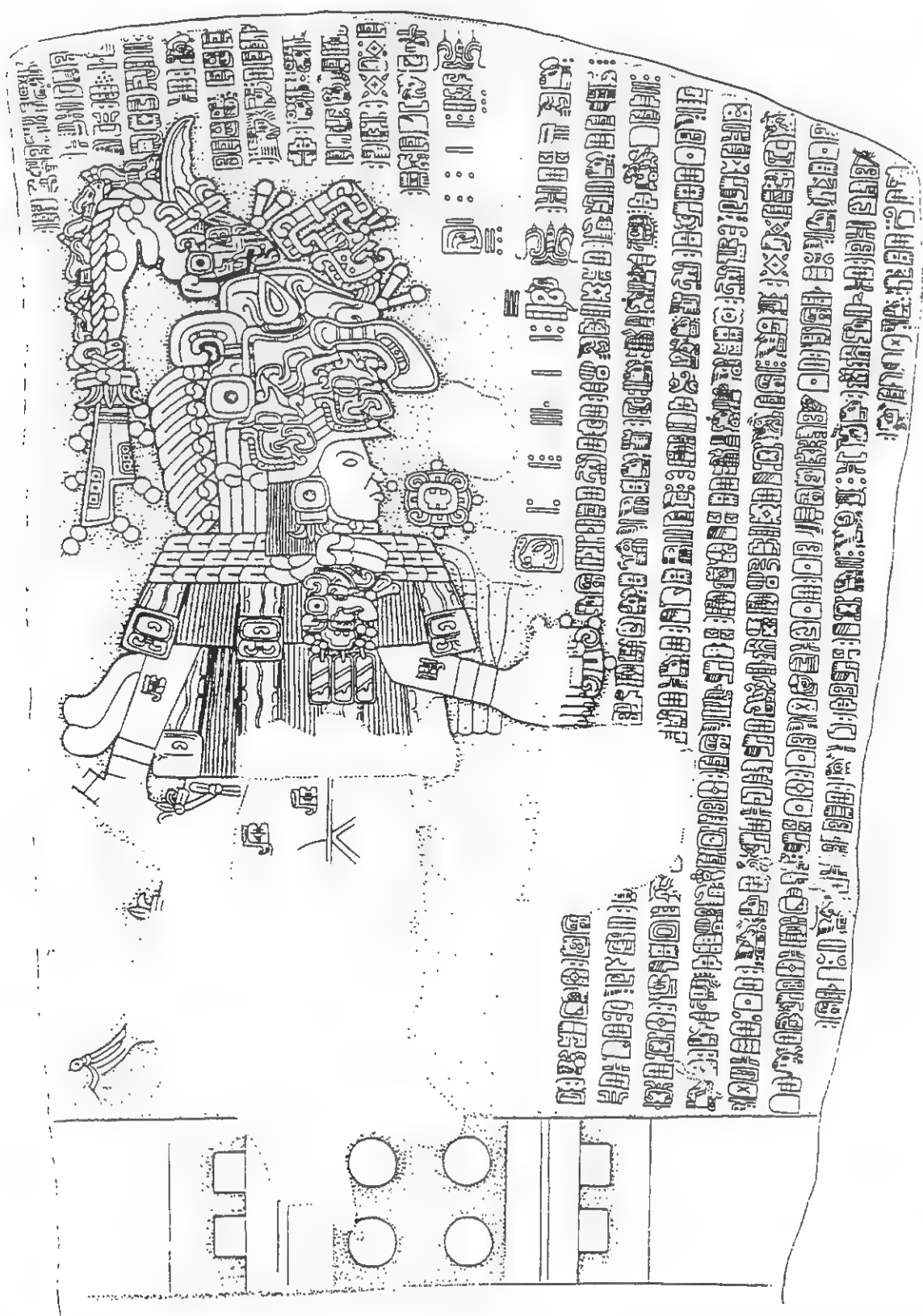


Figure 73. Harvester Mountain-Lord swings his left hand directly below the portion of the text that describes this very action.

Break 3:35 to 3:55 PM

(There are about 10 signs missing here before this next clause).

**Passage N30-N32 (Fig.74):** "...he, got bedecked." (John) Since, everything is missing leading up to this, we do not think it's productive to talk about this clause.

**N\*30-32**











		N*30	165	ja
		N*31	161	BEDECK, possibly /wu=tzuk/
		N*32	20	wa
T	...	ja	BEDECK-wu	
R	...	??	0-wu=tzuk-wu	
G			3A-good-do-IC	
L	...	??	he-got-bedecked	
FT	...	(he)	got bedecked	

Figure 74. Passage N30-N32.

**Passage N33-N37 (Fig.75):** "Now the priest was he, who is a lordly beard-mask wearer." (Terry) The "Beard-Mask" glyph (N36) looks much like some of the masks worn by figures in Itzapan iconography and perhaps other Epi-Olmec iconography. It appears on the Tuxtla Statuette in a passage that identifies a "shape-shifter" by his titles or offices so that the "Beard-Mask" glyph itself must identify some role or status of the "shape-shifter" in that context. Here it can also refer to a role or status. The glyph is followed by the syllabogram *wu* as a spelling of the relativizing morpheme *wu*. There is not much more we can say about this or should say about this right now. (John) At N35a and N35b (2 glyphs combined) we have at the bottom, a glyph that appears several times underneath the "mountain" sign which we have been reading as "mountain-lord." We read it this way partly because a "mountain-lord" is a recurrent title in Mesoamerican thought. Here we have this sign attached as a syllabogram to a sign above it that reads *ko*. *Ko* is the first syllable of the Sokean word for "lord" which is *ko.yumi*. So here we have the kind of evidence that allows us to interpret this sign as having at it's beginning, the syllable *ko*. This gives us the confirmation of the reading "lord." The sign at the bottom can be compared to 2 feet, but who knows what really represents. The whole context of this clause are titles and so they are equating one kind of status or office title with some other kind and so that gives the semantic context for this being some kind of title.

		N*33	24	NOW/...TI
		N*34a	66	PRIEST
		N*34b	125	SUN = /saw/
		N*35a	45	ko
		N*35b	57	LORD/KO.YUMI
		N*36	145	BEARD.MASK
		N*37	20	wa
T	NOW	PRIEST+SUN	ko-LORD	BEARD.MASK wa
R	ADV <sub>1</sub> -ci	ko7=saw	0-ko.yumi	BEARD.MASK +wa7
G	now	head=sun	3A-ELSE-leader ??	REL
L	now	priest	he-was-lord	beard.mask -type
FT	Now	the priest was he who is a lordly beard-mask (wearer);		























OR Now the lordly beard-mask wearer was a/the priest.

Figure 75. Passage N33-N37.

**Passage N38-O17 (Fig.76):** "After 13 days, the god Macaw Monster and Scorpius, and King Harvester Mountain-Lord, and an ascension throne appeared in rulership." (John)

The main thing that I wanted to talk about in this context was the scorpion part. This sign sequence (O6-O8) occurs at 2 points in the text. The second year that we were working on this Fernando Winfield Capitaine suggested that this arrangement marked a constellation (the little "u" signs). Werner Nahm, after hearing this suggested that this roadway (the sort-of u-kab'a part of O7) looked like the confirmation of the astronomical bands where you have moon, sun, stars, and thing like that. So Winfield suggested that this was a constellation. This was a time at these meetings when Linda Schele and John Carlson were presenting ideas about the timing of battles in connection with where Venus was in association with constellations and in particular Scorpius. We think there is evidence that this may in fact refer to the constellation Scorpius. The reason for this is that is because of its context. This turns out to be day when Venus was shining in the head of Scorpius and that kind of situation was one of the occasions that both Linda Schele and John Carlson had identified as a time for war. Well, this was happening around the time of maximum elongation of Venus as Evening Star. We basically tested the idea that Winfield proposed that this was some sort of constellation. The prong below the sign may suggest iconically that this may be Scorpius. The word for "scorpion" is *kakpe* and to treat these as phonetic compliments given that this sign appears to be a logogram on its own, we assigned *kak* for this.

N\*38-O17

	N*38 89	AFTER/JVS	
	O1 13	13. presumably /mak=tuku/	
	O2 53	ja:	
	O3 63	ma	
	O4 21	?GOD. possibly /jej.a7/ 'living one'	
	O5 168	LONGLIP <sub>1</sub> = MACAW.MONSTER	 
	O6 54	kak	
	O7 77	SCORPIUS/KAKPE	
	O8 52	pe	
	O9 182b	KING	
	O10 114	tuk	
	O11a 119	MOUNTAIN = /kotzok/	
	O11b 57	LORD/KO.YUMI	
	O12a 171	GO.UP/KI7M	
	O12b 112	THRONE	
	O13 91	APPEAR	
	O14 20	wa	
	O15 139	7aw	
	O16 171	GO.UP/KI7M	
	O17 46	ma	

7	AFTER	THIRTEEN	ja:-ma	GOD	LONGLIP <sub>1</sub>	kak-SCORPIUS-pe
7	was	mak=tuku	jama	jej.a7	MACAW.MONSTER	kakpe?
G	back	ten-three	day	live-AN ??	scorpion	
L	after	thirteen	days	god	Macaw.Monster	Scorpius
7	KING	tuk		MOUNTAIN-LORD		GO.UP-THRONE
7	KING	tuk.u7		kotzok ko.yumi		ki7m.u7=THRONE
7	??	harvest-AN	mountain	ELSE-leader		go.up-AN-??
L	King	Harvester	Mountain-Lord			ascension.throne
7	APPEAR-wa	7aw-GO.UP-ma				
7	0-APPEAR-wa	7aw=ki7m.u7 [+mu7]				
G	3A-appear-IC	MOUTH-go.up-AN-LOC				
L	appeared	(in.)rulership				

FT After thirteen days, the god(s) Macaw Monster and Scorpius, and King harvester Mountain-Lord and (OR only) an ascension throne appeared in rulership

**Passage O18-O26 (Fig.77 and Fig.79):** “When Sky Quetzal was ascending elsewhere or for others, the ground jointly measured by handspans had been hallowed.” (Terry)  
 Okay, the first 2 glyphs here (O18-O19) are the “sky” and “pa.” The word for “sky” is *tzap* and so *pa* is a phonetic complement for it. Then we have a bird (O20) and something “ascending elsewhere (O21-O24). The question is, what kind of bird is this? Well, it’s a trogon (Fig.78) and the quetzal is just one of the members of the trogon family. It has very long tail feathers. We have called this guy a “Sky-Quetzal” before, but it’s not really a quetzal. We can see from the beak that it’s a trogon. If you familiarize yourself with the beaks of the birds of Mesoamerica, you will find that there are basically 2 birds that have beaks like this: quails and trogons. What we see here is a representation of the tail-feather display of a trogon (bottom right corner of O20). Notice that the trogon’s tail has a rectangular end to them. This is what we have taken to be a representation of the wing (top right corner of O20). Therefore, this sign depicts a particular bird that we can identify. Also because of the way that the word immediately following this sign is spelled, it is linguistically *’i-ko-ki-mi* which means “when he goes up” but it’s not spelled with the *’i* at the beginning. On the other hand we know from searching through the vocabularies of present day Mije-Sokean languages, that the word for trogon in those days was something like *tu’ki*. On other words it ended with the vowel “e” or “i” and so it provides a context in which the first syllable of the word *’i-ko-ki-mi* would have to be spelled out and it wasn’t. (John) There are only 2 other bird names that end in the vowel “i”. (Terry) The other 2 bird names are “quail” and “hawk.” This is not a hawk!









O18-24			
	O18a	144a	?SKY.GOD <sub>1</sub>
	O18b	144b	SKY/TZAP
	O19	143	pa
	O20	160	?QUETZAL or TROGON, presumably /tu7ki/
	O21	45	ko
	O22	170	ki
	O23	65	mi
	O24	171	GO.UP/KI7M
T	SKY.GOD <sub>1</sub> =SKY-pa QUETZAL ko-ki-mi-GO.UP		
R	tzap	tu7ki	<7i+>ko.ki7m-i
G	sky	trogon	3E-ELSE-go.up-DI
L	sky	quetzal	when-he-ascends-ELSE
FT	When Sky Quetzal [EN7] was ascending for.others/elsewhere...		

Figure 77. Passage O18-O-24.

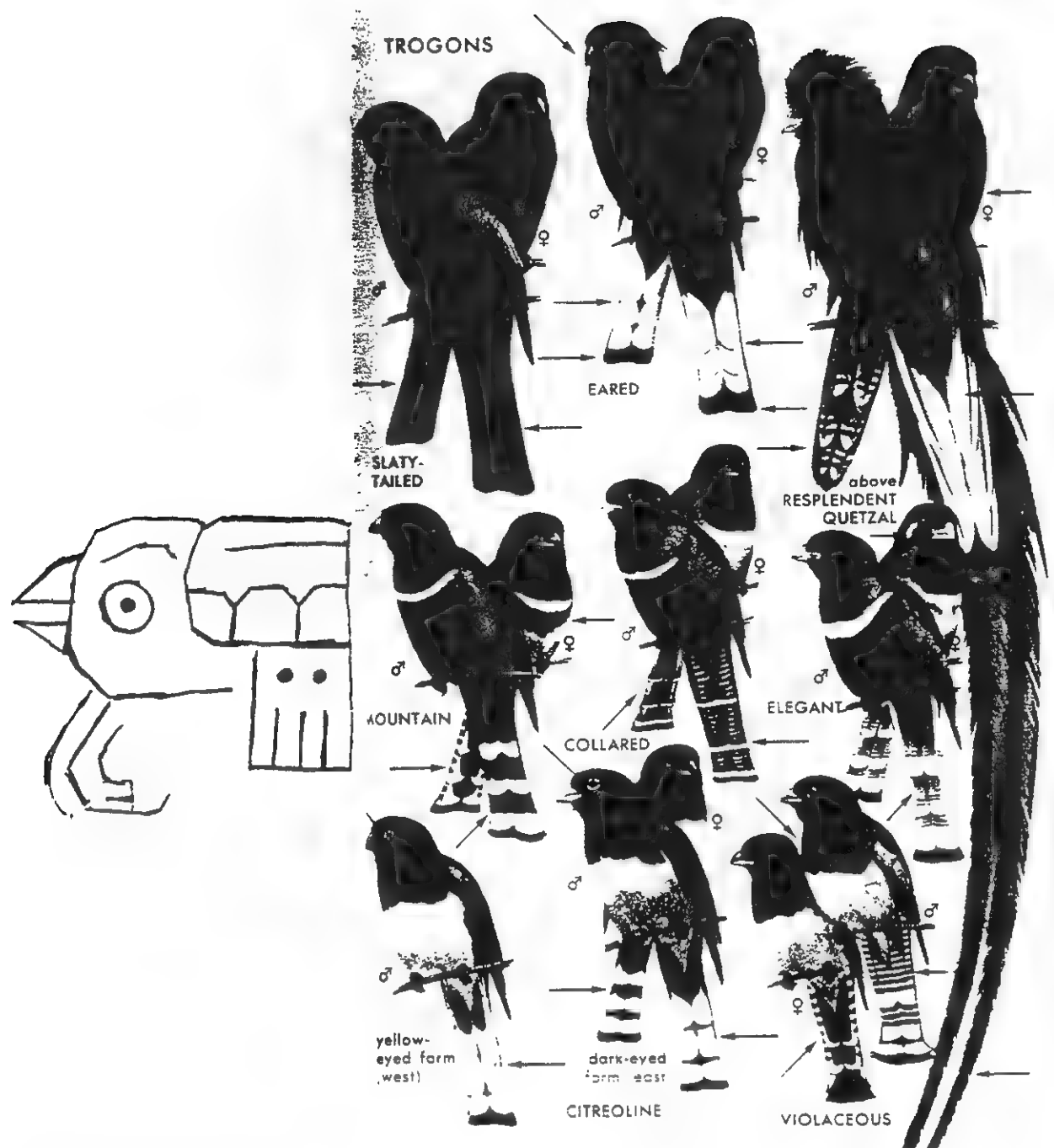







Figure 78. Trogons.

Okay, the second part of this passage is fragmentary because there is a break after O26c. This maybe fragmentary, but we can read this as a complete clause (Fig.79). This sign complex here (O26) is one of few where George Stuart's drawing is misleading. It turns out that this sign is identical with one on the Tuxtla Statuette that we had identified with a hand in position of a hand-span measure. The word for "measurement by hand-span" is reconstructable as *tzat* on the statuette. This sign here (O26b) is preceded by the phonetic sign *nu*. This prefix indicates that the action of the verb is performed together with a least one other person. There is no suffix so we take this to be a nominalization. The *nu* sign is also used as an icon for "earth" in the sky-over-earth glyph. (A detailed analysis of this glyph can be seen labeled in Fig.79). Together *nu-tzat* means "something that has been mutually measured by handspans." This sign appears over this glyph () which ordinarily we read as the syllabogram *na*, but in this case, it seems to be read as a logogram for "earth." This means "earth that has been jointly measured by handspans."

Now as a footnote to this, we have imagined that it is possible that this depiction on the bottom of the stela is a representation of space that had been laid out for special purposes (Fig.80). This could be a version of the "earth" sign or it could be the entrance to the Underworld and these are presumably the 4 pillars that hold up the sky. This could be the space that was dedicated by the action that is named in this passage. The first word in that passage is "hallowed" or "made holy" or "blessed."

O25-26

	O25	75	<i>HALLOW/KO.NU7KS</i>
	O26a	134a	<i>nu<sub>1</sub></i>
	O26b	151	<i>SPAN/TZAT7</i>
	O26c	44	<i>EARTH/NAS</i>

T	HALLOW	<i>nu<sub>2</sub>=SPAN+EARTH</i>
R	0-ko.nu7ks.i	<i>nu.tzat7.e=nas</i>
G	3A-ELSE-greet	<i>ASSOC.measure-PN-earth</i>
L	it-is-hallowed	<i>jointly-handspan.measured-ground</i>
FT	...(at) the hallowed ground	<i>jointly measured by hand spans...</i>
OR	...the ground jointly measured by handspans	<i>had been hallowed.</i>

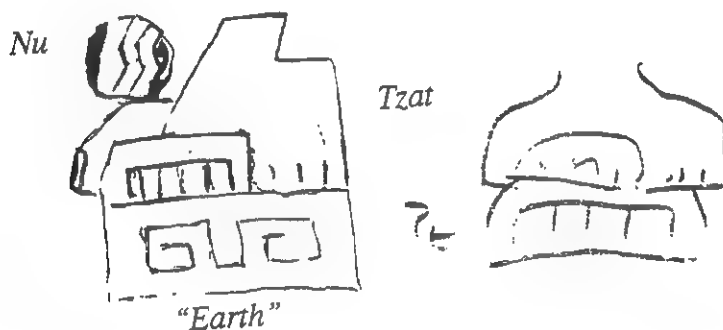
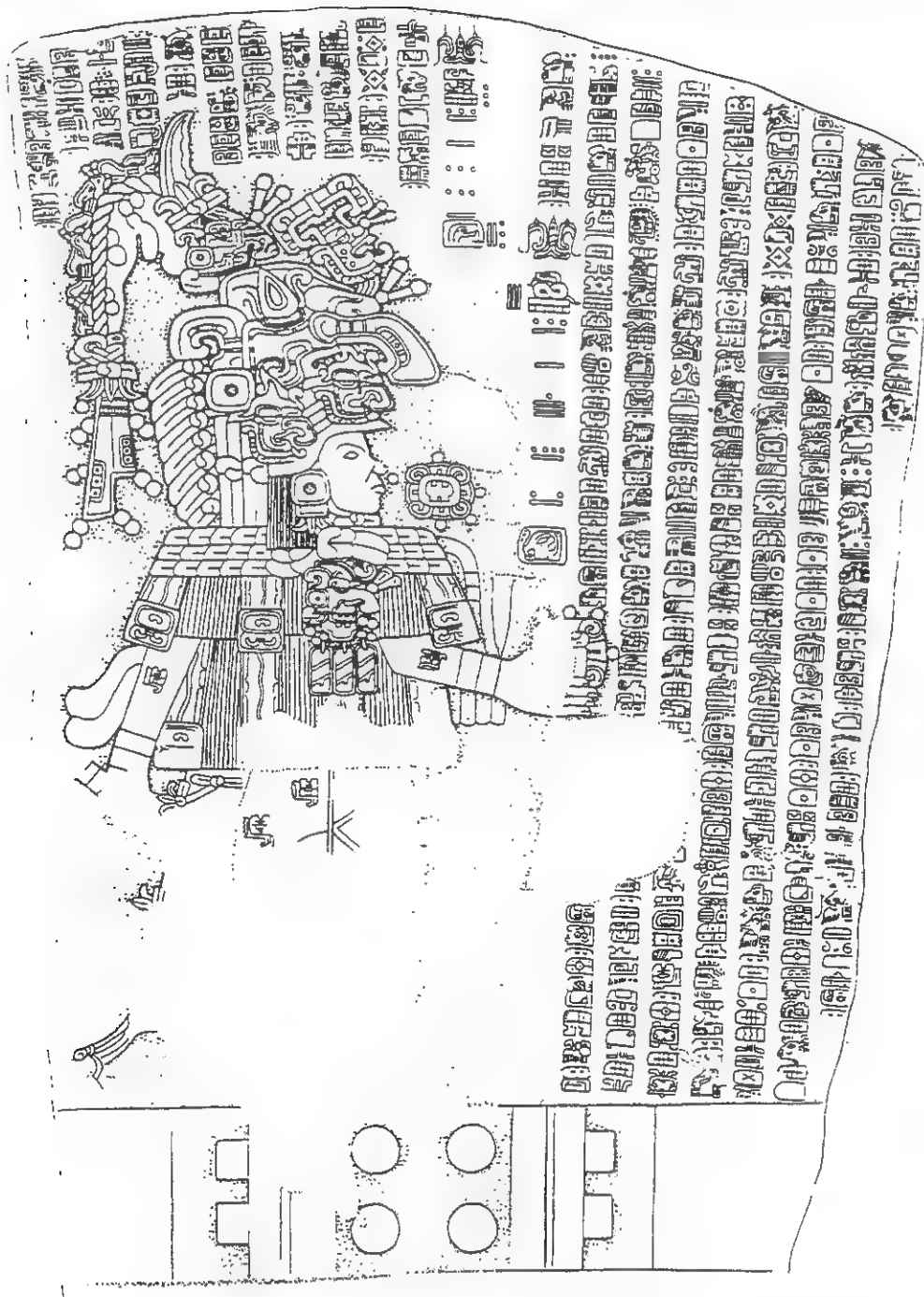


Figure 79. Passage O25-O26.



na: Although the sign is not iconically transparent, it is identified as an icon for 'earth' (Sokean \**nas*) by two lines of evidence: it appears in the base panels of epi-Olmec and southern Guatemalan sculptures (Kent Reilly, personal communication 1991), and it appears in the position of the EARTH logogram in an iconically-motivated sign grouping that has been widely compared to the "sun at horizon" group in Mayan writing (David Kelley, personal communication 1988; Stross 1990; Macri and Stark 1993). This association is confirmed by the auxiliary hypothesis that the sign is an icon for 'sky' (Sokean \**zap*), itself confirmed by the appearance of the phonetic complement *pa* after it. Finally, we find evidence that the sign serves as a logogram for 'earth' in one context in the La Mojarra text.



This sign was evidently the source of the most common Mayan sign for the syllable *na*. This was first hypothesized by Stross (1990); Mora-Marín supports this hypothesis by pointing to early Mayan examples that show a greater formal similarity to the epi-Olmec form than do the usual later Mayan examples.






Figure 80. The Possible Depiction of Sacred Space as Seen on the La Mojarra Stela.

(There are now about 8 signs missing).

**Passage O27-O29 (Fig.81):** "The drum got pounded;" (John) Okay so this another context where we might have a drum usage. As Terry mentioned this passage occurs at the end of a stretch that's been flaked or chipped off. Nothing much depends on this.

**O\*27-29**







	O*27	40	POUND, probably /naks/
	O*28	20	wa
	O*29	72	DRUM, presumably /kowa/ OR YEAR/7AME7

T	POUND-wa	DRUM
R	0-naks-wa	kowa
G	3A-pound-IC	drum
L	it-got-pounded	drum
FT	The drum got pounded;	

Figure 81. Passage O27-O29.

**Passage O30-O33 (Fig.82):** "then the garments were getting folded in front." (John) This sign here, that we read as *wi* comes from the occurrence of a similar sign on the O'Boyle Mask (O30). This unusual sign here (O32a) really looks like this and so it's just a weird looking sign. This top sign here (O33) occurs 3 times on the stela and it also appears on the Tuxtla Statuette. It is a phonetic sign read as *tu* and the bottom part appears to be a logogram and this is the word that goes with it and so the solution that incorporated both signs was or is probably *tuku* for "cloth." We see this as an action performed with cloth and based strictly on the form of this, we supposed that it might mean "fold." In any case, it's some action being performed with cloth.

**O\*30-33**

	O*30	90	wi
	O*31	8b	?BEFORE/WIN
	O*32a	105	FOLD, probably /paks/
	O*32b	142	pa <sub>2</sub>
	O*33a	93	tu
	O*33b	100	CLOTH/TUKU7








T	wi-BEFORE	FOLD+pa <sub>2</sub>	tu+CLOTH
R	win	0-paks-pa	tuku7
G	face	3A-fold-II	cloth
L	in.front	it-gets-folded	cloth
FT	<then> the garments were getting folded in front.		

Figure 82. Passage O30-O33.



**Passage O34-P2 (Fig.83):** “When his backside was getting pierced, he [Harvester Mountain-Lord] speaks:” (Terry) The dependent clause precedes the independent clause and so the aspect is incomplete. This is characteristic of Mije-Sokean narrative texts for verbs to be speaking in the incomplete aspect even when referring to complete events. The piercing word does not end in an “s” so the sign *si* does not spell the incomplete dependent suffix. It must begin a new word. The verb *'otuw-pa* is not transitive so the *'i* sign does not spell a prefix to that word. The sequence *si-'i* spells the Proto-Sokean word *si'i* referring to one's “backside.” The phrase then indicates that Harvester Mountain-Lord was “piercing his buttocks.” We know of no documentary evidence where bloodletting took place in the buttocks, but as a fleshy part of the body they are in a logical site for such a practice. This conclusion confirms the reading of the same sign here in this passage that we will see shortly (P24). (John) I would like to mention one thing here, this provides some of the reasons for understanding why the cloth was getting folded. It probably refers to the loincloth getting folded as a way of getting it out of the way in preparation for this event.

**O\*34-P2**

	O*34 38	7i
	O*35 23	PIERCE, probably /wu7tz/
	O*36 101	si <sub>2</sub>
	O*37 38	7i
	O*38 97	7o
	P1 93	tu
	P2 143	pa

T	7i-PIERCE	si <sub>2</sub> -7i	7o-tu-pa
R	7i+wu7tz-i	<7i+>si7i7	0-7otuw-pa
G	3E-pierce-DI	3E-buttocks	3A-speak-II
L	when-it-gets-pierced	his-buttocks	he-speaks
FT	When his buttocks were getting pierced, he [HML] speaks:		

Figure 83. Passage O34-P2.

**Passage P3-P9 (Fig.84):** “He [probably the calendar priest] spilled or hid my blood in another's place.” (Terry) This is a transitive sentence where the object precedes the verb as usual in such sentences. Here you can see that we again get a shift to 1<sup>st</sup> person with “my blood.” The sign that follows the verb logogram and precedes the aspect suffix *wu* cannot be a phonetic complement because the root ends in “y” and the “y” is not spelled before consonants. Therefore it must spell out an optional verb suffix. *Pu* is the only one that we could reconstruct from 2 or more descendant languages and it was not spelled by a syllabogram that we otherwise knew. This is a regular part of the verb “to spill” or “to spill out.” The *ko* sign spells a prefix pronounced in that way that we have glossed as “else.” This basically places the action of the verb elsewhere as someone else's place that carries the implication that it is performed on behalf of someone else. As a result the prefix can carry the implication that the action of the verb is performed for others. It can mean 2 different things that you textually have to figure out. It can mean that “do something for somebody else” or “you work at somebody else's house” or “you do something elsewhere in another place from the normal place in which you would do it.”

P3-9

	P3	44	na
	P4	22	BLOOD = /na7pin/
	P5	38	7i
	P6	45	ko
	P7	149+50	LOSE/TOKOY
	P8	47'	pu
	P9	20	wa

T na-BLOOD 7i-ko-LOSE -pu -wa  
 R na+na7pin 0-7i+ko.tokoy-pu7-wa  
 G XE-blood 3A-3E-ELSE-lose-ENTIRELY-IC  
 L my-blood he-spilled/hid-it-entirely-ELSE  
 FT "He [probably the calendar priest (or possibly Sky Quetzal)] spilled/hid my blood in another's place."

Figure 84. Passage P3-P9.

**Passage P10-P15 (Fig.85):** "With royal rulership was the reason for a marriage-time exchange or trade." (John) Basically, we don't know what this means. The problem is that there's no verb suffixes, so there's no verbs. There seems to be a series of nouns that are joined as nominal predicates, but we don't know if there's multiple ones and how they are divided. However, they seem to relate in part to a time period that is designated by this *aw=saw* sign here (P14). But we don't know what.

P10-15





	P10	83	ECCENTRIC.FLINT
	P11	139	7aw
	P12	171	GO.UP/KI7M
	P13	166	?? [undamaged, but uninterpreted]
	P14	96a	?TIME, possibly /7aw=saw/
	P15	54	kak

T ECCENTRIC.FLINT 7aw-GO.UP ?? TIME kak  
 R ECCENTRIC.FLINT 7aw=ki7m.u7 ?? 0-7aw=saw kak.u7  
 G ?? MOUTH-go.up-AN ?? 3A-MOUTH-festival replace-AN  
 L 'royal' ruler(ship) ?? it-is-time success-ion/-or  
 FT (The) royal ruler(ship) is/was (a/the) X time/count success-ion/-or;

Figure 85. Passage P10-P15.

**Passage P16-P18 (Fig.86):** "a coronation cloth." (John) Same deal here. We cannot read this.

P16-18

	P16	69	?? (?building, ?mantle, ?headwrap)
	P17a	129	KNOTTED.CLOTH
	P17b	75	HALLOW/KO.NU7KS
	P18	100	CLOTH/TUKU7




T	??	KNOT+HALLOW	CLOTH
R	??	0-X+ko.nu7ks.u	tuku7
G	??	3A-X-ELSE-greet-AN	cloth
L	??	it-is-coronation	cloth
FT	Y	is/was a coronation cloth.	

[The syntax is unclear here]

Figure 86. Passage P16-P18.

**Passage P19-P22 (Fig.87):** "The god Ten Sky was the rainy season god." (John) Here is a portrait of Ten Sky (or *Lajun Chan*) as depicted in the Venus Tables of the Dresden Codex. It was about a year after we read this as 10 *Mak* (P20-P21) and this as "sky" (P22) that we put the 2 together to get 10 Sky. We are going to find out that this is a day on which Venus shines. We just saw that some "piercing" was going on and Venus was a "piercer" and so this seems to be related to that. In other words, this is a Venus God named 10 Sky who is designated as the rainy season god. We infer that the reading for this is related to a particular Venus year. Venus years start as soon as it becomes visible as Morning Star and it lasts for 584 days. About once in 5 years you get a Venus year that starts with a complete rainy season, then a dry season, and then a complete rainy season and that's what happened this year. You have the Venus year beginning and ending with a rainy season and this is in the rainy season.

P19-22

	P19a	96a	?TIME <sub>2</sub>
	P19b	144a	?SKY.GOD <sub>2</sub>
	P19c	94b	RAIN
	P20	63	ma
	P21	10	10/MAK
	P22a	144a	?SKY.GOD <sub>2</sub>
	P22b	144b	SKY/TZAP

T	TIME <sub>2</sub> +SKY.GOD <sub>2</sub> =RAIN	ma-TEN SKY.GOD <sub>2</sub> =SKY
R	0-tuj7=7aw=saw=jej.a7	mak tzap
G	3A-rain-MOUTH-festival-live-AN	
L	he-is-rainy season(-spirit)	Ten Sky
FT	(The god) Ten Sky is/was a/the rainy season god.	



[This date, 8.5.17.14.0, falls in the latter part of the rainy season.]

Figure 87. Passage P19-P22 and a Portrait of the Mayan Venus God: *Lajun Chan*.

**Passage P23-P30 (Fig.88):** "Their [Harvester Mountain-Lord and his cronies's] raised up backsides got pierced and covered for others." (Terry) The verb is intransitivized, but there is no ergative prefix present. The agent is not mentioned. The grammatical subject that got pierced and covered follows the word as usual for verbs that have no agent. The pluralizer *yaj* of non-animate nouns (P30) follows *si'i* (P28b-P29). This is a reference to the multiple backsides, not the multiple buttocks, so more than one of Harvester Mountain-Lord's cronies is involved in this action.

P23-30



P23	45	ko
P24	23	PIERCE, probably /wu7tz/
P25	124	ku
P26	20	wa
P27	38	7i
P28a	171	GO.UP/KI7M OR ?RULE
P28b	101	si <sub>2</sub>
P29	38	7i
P30	87	yaj

T	ko-PIERCE-ku-wa	7i-GO.UP+si <sub>2</sub> -7i-yaj
R	0-ko.wu7tz=kuy7-wa	7i+ki7m.a7=si7i7-yaj
G	3A-ELSE-pierce-cover-IC	3E-go.up-AN-buttocks-3P/IP
L	it-got-pierced-and-covered-ELSE	their-ascent-buttocks OR his-ascent-buttock.cheeks

FT Their [HML and his cronies's] power-assuming buttocks got pierced and covered for others.

OR His [HML's] power-assuming buttock-cheeks got pierced and covered for others.

OR (if P31 is read with P23-30, and <wa> was present immediately after in the effaced part [cf. MOJ V17-18]) Their/His Reeds-Cross-Pillar-type ascension/power-assuming buttock (cheek)s got pierced and covered for others.

Figure 88. Passage P23-P30.

Here about 6 signs are missing between P31 and P32.

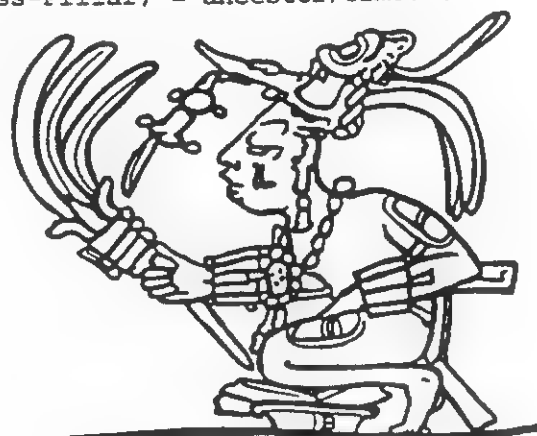
**Passage P31-P39 (Fig.89):** "When Harvester Mountain-Lord, the ancestral [something or other] was bloodletting from inside the penis, he was a prince-type." (John) Okay, this is a Peter Mathews original. I think in 1988, Peter understood this sign to be the moral equivalent of a Mayan sign that shows part of a torso in the posture of bloodletting from the penis (P33). This sign sort of shows someone up on their heels with the knees spread apart form the most "unkindness cut of all" as Peter calls it. So this sign was exhibiting that posture and I wasn't terribly persuaded by this until I saw the sign underneath that people have called the "thumb" sign (P34) and so I decided that Peter should know since this was the "Peter"

glyph and not the "sun" glyph! There's one other thing about this that's interesting grammatically. This is one of the first things we worked out. If the signs above referred to bloodletting and since there was a penis involved, it probably meant that the bloodletting was from the penis. As Terry told you, there's just one way to say "from something" and so you first of all have to say "from what part" and there's only 5 parts: it could be from the surface, from top or the bottom, from the center or inside. Remember too, that the blood normally comes from the inside if you poke a hole into it. Thus, this glyph had to refer to "inside." The text also states that it's not "in" or "at" rather it's "from" and as Terry told you "from" is pronounced *mm'k* and "inside" is pronounced *joj*. Therefore, we expected something like *joj mm'k* to following the "Peter" glyph. Now this sign located right here (P38) exists on the figure himself on his arms and loincloth and perhaps on a leg (Fig.90). This glyph which is followed by *wu* can be bracketed off as a reference to our hero. So if you were spelling out the penis expression syllabically, it would read "*peter-jo-mu-ku*." Now alternatively this could be a logogram for *joj* "inside" and the sign kind of looks like a picture you might decide could be "inside" because it contains a bunch of concentric things inside each other. That's not how we figured it out, rather we figured it out from its grammatical context. It turns out that this is really a syllabogram because we have it used for just plain *jo* in a spelling of *jome* that means "new."

P31-39

P31 61 TITLE: (Reeds+Cross-Pillar) = ancestor/Olmec (?)  
[About 6 signs missing]

P*32 38	? (probably 7i)
P*33 132	LET.BLOOD
P*34 107	PENIS = /kan/
P*35 120	jo
P*36 46	mu
P*37 124var	ku
P*38a 76	PRINCE
P*38b 78	"(ANGLE.)BRACE"
P*39 20	wu



T (TITLE<sub>2</sub>) x x x x x x ? LET.BLOOD  
R ancestor(?) 7i+LET.BLOOD.E  
G ?? 3E-let.blood-DI  
L ancestral(?) he-was-blood-letting from-inside-penis

PENIS-jo-mu-ku

kan=joj+mu7+k

penis-inside-LOC-FROM

from-inside-penis

T PRINCE+BRACE wu  
R PRINCE +wu7  
G prince REL  
L prince -type



FT (ancestral(?)) ... when he was blood-letting from inside the penis, he was a prince-type.

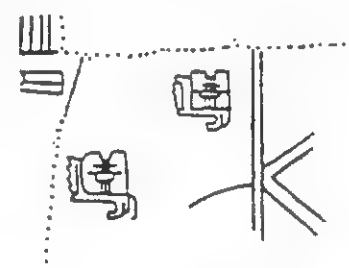


Figure 89. Passage P31-P39.

**Passage P40-Q2 (Fig.90):** "Now a macaw-lashing was supposed to get taken." (Terry)  
 The "lashing" referred to here is not "whipping" but "tying something onto something else."  
 They are "tying up" or they tying a rope around something and "enclosing" is a different word  
 entirely from "lashing something onto something else." This is the word in question. This  
 can be made grammatically clear by looking at the image on San Lorenzo Monument 2. The  
 headband is tied onto the back of the head and so the point here is that after Harvester  
 Mountain-Lord's bloodletting it was time to take up a headband to which macaw heads were  
 attached. Here Harvester Mountain-Lord is taking or is preparing to take on the identify of a  
 macaw. This identity is explicitly referred to in actions discussed later in the text.

P\*40-Q2



P*40	24	NOW/...TI
P*41	28	pak
P*42	38	7i
P*43	97	7o
P*44	29	wa
Q1	82	ju OR TIE/JU7PS
Q2	103+101	si

T	NOW	pak-7i	7o-wa-ju(7ps)-si
R	ADV <sub>1</sub> -ti	0-pak-7i	7owa=ju7ps.i
G	now	3A-take-OPT	macaw-lash-PN
L	now	it-should-get-taken	macaw-lashing
FT	Now a macaw-lashing/?band was supposed to get taken.		



Figure 90. Passage P40-Q2.

**Passage Q3-Q8 (Fig.91):** "Earlier, a garment of cloth was getting folded in plain sight."  
 (John) This is a reference to the earlier statement of cloths being folded. In that earlier  
 expression the text stated that the folding was done "in front" and this one states that the "cloth  
 was folded in plain sight." This is one of those contexts that helps confirm the earlier  
 statement and also supports the *ken.e* reading.









Q3	63	ma
Q4	24 [NO]	ke
Q5	149+42	ne
Q6	105	FOLD, probably /paks/
Q7	142	pa
Q8	100	CLOTH/TUKU7

T	ma	ke-ne	FOLD-pa	CLOTH
R	ma	ken.e	0-paks-pa	tuku7
G	earlier	see-PN	3A-fold-Ii	cloth
L	earlier	seen/visible	it-gets-folded	garment/cloth
FT	Earlier, (a) garment/cloth(s) was/were getting folded in plain sight.			

Figure 91. Passage Q3-Q8.

**Passage Q9-Q14 (Fig.92):** "The Stela-Raiser was a Flint-Sword Type Flower-Lord Beard Mask Wearer." (Terry) This passage is obscure and hard to interpret because 3 of the first 4 signs are logograms and we don't have very precise readings for any of them. Given the uncertainty about the individual meanings, it is not possible to be sure where the boundaries between the constituents of the clause fall and so we shouldn't say much more about this.

**Q9-12 (13-14)**

	Q9a	79	??
	Q9b	78	"(ANGLE.) BRACE"
	Q10	83	ECCENTRIC.FLINT
	Q11	20	wa
	Q12	121	?FLOWER
	Q13a	45	ko
	Q13b	57	LORD/KO.YUMI
	Q14	145	BEARD.MASK

**Q9-14**

T	??+BRACE	ECCENTRIC.FLINT	wa	?FLOWER	ko+LORD	BEARD.MASK
R	??	ECCENTRIC.FLINT	+wa7	0-?	ko.yumi	BEARD.MASK
G	??	??	REL	3A-?	ELSE-leader	??
L	'notable'	'royal'	-type	he-is-flower	lord	beard.mask
FT	The notable royal-type X was a flower-lord beard-mask (wearer) [EN8]					

**OR Q9-12**

T	??+BRACE	ECCENTRIC.FLINT	wa	?FLOWER		
R	??	ECCENTRIC.FLINT	+wa7	0-?	G	??
G	??	??	REL	3A-?		??
L	'notable'	'royal'	-type	he-is-flower		
FT	The notable royal-type X was a flower.					

















**Figure 92. Passage Q9-Q14.**

**Passage Q13-Q25 (Fig.93):** "When King Harvester Mountain-Lord was putting it [a ceremonial object mentioned earlier] away, piercingly now the Star Warrior got hallowed." (Terry) Again, it is unclear whether the series of nouns that begins this clause are part of an equational clause or whether some or all of them are components of a noun phrase that is associated with the following verb. The verb itself is interesting because it involves a new construction "when he put it away as a piercer now, the star warrior got hallowed." What he "put away" is some previously mentioned ceremonial object, but we don't know which one it was. It's very unlikely that it was a ceremonial object that hadn't yet been mentioned. As always, the dependent clause precedes the independent clause. This is the one case in which the 2 disagree in aspect with the dependent clause being incomplete and the independent

clause being completive. The morpheme *ku* marks the past-time reference on subordinated clauses whether completive or incompletive and it means "when."

(John) I would like to make one point about this component that features a bracket with some curly-q's on it that's called "star warrior" Q23). There's a few signs that have that kind of brace of them and we have been reading them as complements of titles. Here at Cerro De Las Mesas Stela 5 you get this brace element in the headgear of one of the figures.

Q13-25

	Q13a	45	kc
	Q13b	57	LORD/KO.YUMI
	Q14	145	BEARD.MASK
	Q15	182	KING
	Q16	114	tuk
	Q17a	119	MOUNTAIN = /kotchak/
	Q17b	57	LORD/KO.YUMI
	Q18	38	7i
	Q19	45	kc
	Q20	56	te
	Q21	124	ku
	Q22a	23	PIERCE, probably /wu7tz/
	Q22b	24	NOW/...TI
	Q23	80	STAR.WARRIOR
	Q24	75	HALLOW/KO.NU7KS
	Q25	20	wa

Q13-25

T	ko+LORD	BEARD.MASK
R	ko.yumi	BEARD.MASK
G	ELSE-leader ??	
L	lord	beard.mask
T	KING	tuk MOUNTAIN+LORD
R	(0-)KING	tuk.u7 kotzak ko.yumi
G	(3A-)??	harvest-AN mountain ELSE-leader
L	(he-is-)King	Harvester Mountain-Lord
T	7i-ko-te	-ku
R	0-7i+kot-e	+7ku
G	3A-3E-put.away-DI	WHEN
L	when-he-put.in/on/away-it	+when
T	PIERCE=NOW	STAR.WARRIOR HALLOW-wa
R	wu7tz.u7	ADV <sub>1</sub> -ti STAR.WARRIOR 0-ko.nu7ks-wa
G	pierce-AN	now ?? 3A-ELSE-greet-IC
L	piercingly	now star.warrior he-got-hallowed

FT When (the lordly beard-mask (wearer)), King Harvester Mountain-Lord, was putting it (garment?, macaw lashing/band?, beard-mask?, eccentric flint?) away, piercingly now the star-warrior got hallowed.

OR: The lordly beard-mask (wearer) is King HML. When he was putting it (garment?, macaw lashing/band?, beard-mask?, eccentric flint?) away, piercingly now the star-warrior got hallowed.

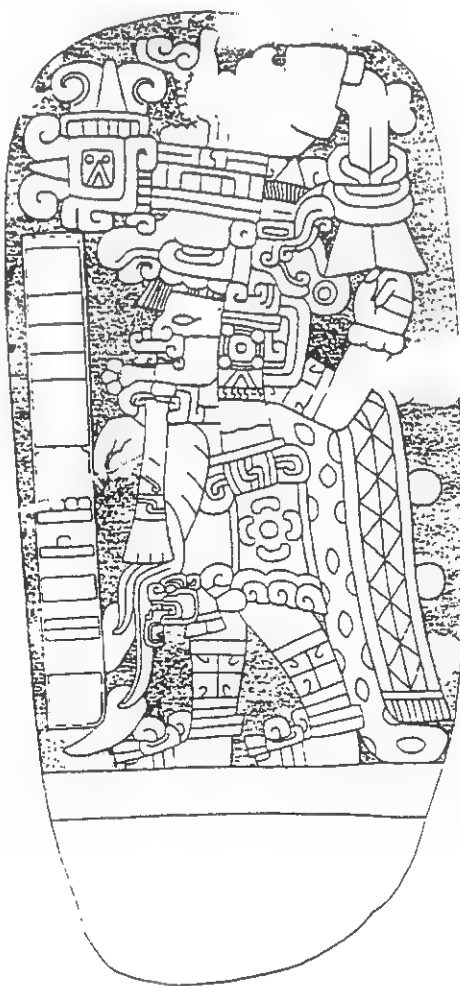










Figure 93. Passage Q13-Q25 and Cerro De Las Mesas Stela 5.



**Passage Q26-Q33 (Fig.94):** “The aforementioned one [namely Harvester Mountain-Lord] sings a song which is about an animal-guise.” (John) Following this passage we are going to get a 1<sup>st</sup> person marker and so this is a verb that’s preceding a shift from 3<sup>rd</sup> person to 1<sup>st</sup> person. That means this verb must be one relating to “speaking.” The verb is intransitive because there’s no ergative marker and the subject is *te* which means the “aforementioned” so the 2 signs that precede the verb (Q29-Q30) here with the *pa* suffix attached to it have to be somehow incorporated into or compounded with the verb. There’s only one noun that suggests a verb of “speaking” and that’s *wan.e=tzmk* which means “to do a song” or “to sing.” This is in fact, the standard way to say “to sing a song.” (Terry) Well, it can also mean “to perform a song.” (John) Now this compound here (Q28), that includes *ne*, ends the word *wan.e* and we think that the main sign (Q27) here is a logogram for “song.” Finally, *jama* (Q31-Q33) is spelled out here that can mean “a day” or it can refer to the “animal guise” that the “shape-shifter” switches to.

**Q26-33**











	Q26	52	te
	Q27	135	?SING/WAN
	Q28	149+42	ne
	Q29	130	DO/TZHK
	Q30	142	pa <sub>2</sub>
	Q31	165	ja
	Q32	63	ma
	Q33	20	wa

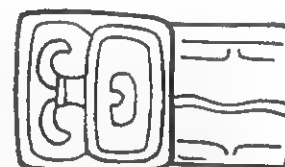
  

T	te	SING-ne-DO-pa <sub>2</sub>	ja-ma	wa
R	te7	wan.e=tzmk-pa	jama	+wa7
G	that	sing-PN-do-II	guise	REL
L	aforementioned	he-song-makes	animal-guise/day	-type
FT	The aforementioned one [HML] sings a song which is about/of an animal-guise/day('s length?):			

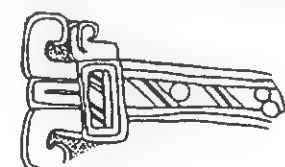
Figure 94. Passage Q26-Q33.

**Passage Q34-Q42 (Fig.95):** “Now my penis-receivers [that is staunchers] had earlier been a body-covering and a governor’s head-wrap.” (John) Basically what this passage is saying describes what he is using to wrap-up his bleeding “peter” is one of his authority symbols. It originally appears to be a loincloth, but it’s also used as head-wrap. That’s basically what they are talking about here: the kind of cloth that he’s using to perform this task and what its other functions are. Now this is one of the signs that we interpret based on its iconic form (Q39) which is something that we don’t normally do. The reason we can do that is because this is a form of a sign that appears on the monument. This glyph here (Q39) appears to be the same sign that appear on several strips that dangles down from Harvester Mountain-Lord’s collar. These components also appear on loincloths. This one here is from the Leiden Plaque and this one’s from Kaminaljuyu Stela 11.

	Q34	24	NOW/...TI
	Q35	44	na
	Q36	107	PENIS = /kan/
	Q37	28	puk
	Q38	62	ma
	Q39	117	?LOINCLOTH, probably /ni7.jup.7/
	Q40	147	pu
	Q41a	129	KNOTTED.CLOTH with straps
	Q41b	60	GOVERNOR('s headdress)
	Q42	49	7a



Leiden Plaque









Kaminaljuyu

T	NOW	na-PENIS-puk	
R	ADV <sub>1</sub> -ti	na+kan=puk.u7	
G	now	XE-penis-take-AN	
L	now	my-penis-receiver	
T	ma	?LOINCLOTH-pu	KNOT+GOVERNOR-7a
R	ma	0-ni7.jup.7	0-"ruler"=ko7=mon7.a7
G	earlier	3A-BODY-cover-NSTR	3A-??-HEAD-wrap-NSTR
L	earlier	it-is-body-cover-ing	it-is-ruler's-head-wrap

FT "Now my penis-receivers [staunchers] had earlier been a body-covering and a ruler's head-wrap."

Figure 95. Passage Q34-Q42.

**Passage Q43-Q47 (Fig.96): "Scorpius shone."** (Terry) Here, Scorpius precedes a verb that is spelled *ki-wu* (Q46-Q47). The verb root must end in a weak consonant and there is just one such verb *kij* meaning "to shine." This is the single-most straightforward verb for use with a constellation or star as the subject. Notice that the subject precedes the verb as in the case of "Venus shining" and so this event took place at night.







			Q43-47
Q43	54		kak
Q44	77		SCORPIUS/KAKPE7
Q45	52		pe
Q46	170		ki
Q47	20		wu

T	kak-SCORPIUS-pe	ki-wu
R	kakpe7	0-kij-wu
G	scorpion	3A-shine-IC
L	Scorpius	it-shone
FT	Scorpius shone.	

[Venus was in Scorpius, a propitious situation for warfare among ancient Mayans, and apparently also among other Meso-Americans.]

Figure 96. Passage Q43-Q47.

**Passage Q48-R3 (Fig.97):** "Now a noble sky animal jaguar [maybe Mercury] appeared or got revealed." (John) Okay this statement is sandwiched between the one you just heard of Scorpius shining and the one coming up which has Venus shining so both of these sentences describe something that took place at night and in the sky. The verb is something we've already seen elsewhere as the verb for "appears." So this appears to end with what Scorpius did earlier in conjunction with Harvester Mountain-Lord on his throne. Therefore we imagined that this passage was going to be similar in referring to some sort of an astronomical phenomena that can happen to Scorpius and whatever this sign is referring to (Q49-R1). From work done at a previous workshop on the Epi-Olmec it was worked out that Mercury became visible on this particular day and it remained visible for as long as jaguars could be taken: this being the first day of the jaguar-taking. They take one jaguar everyday for 23 days.

Q48-R3			
Q48	24		NOW/...TI
Q49	173		?? NOBLE.SKY.ANIMAL
R1	152		JAGUAR = /kajaw/
R2	91		APPEAR
R3	20		wa
T	NOW	NOBLE.SKY.ANIMAL	JAGUAR APPEAR-wa
R	ADV <sub>1</sub> -ti	sa7sa7=tzap=ko.pan	kajaw 0-APPEAR-wa
G	now	noble-sky-ELSE-person	jaguar 3A-appear-IC
L	now	noble sky animal	jaguar it-appeared
FT	Now a noble sky animal jaguar [= Mercury?] appeared/got.revealed/shown.forth.		








[This was the sign that the first of 23 jaguars should be taken over the course of 23 days by the protagonist.] [EN9]

Figure 97. Passage Q48-R3.

**Passage R4-R8 (Fig.98):** "The bludgeon star [that is Venus] shone." (John) Okay, this is the same thing we had at the very beginning of the text where "Venus shone" however, there's one difference. In the first instance there was a *wa* sign after *pak.kuy* or the "bludgeon" sign. If you remember what Terry talked about earlier you will know that when you have something that's modifying a noun like the "bludgeon star" you can use a relative clause to make it more explicit: the "bludgeon-type star." However, in its subsequent occurrence here you drop that final *wa*.

I should state that's there's only been one date running for the past 3 columns of text or so and so this is a day that's 9 x 584 days after the initial Long Count date.

# R4-8

R4a	109		pak
R4b	37		ku
R5	63		ma
R6a	32		STAR/MATZA7
R6b	30		tza
R7	31		SHINE, presumably /kij/
R8	20		wa










T	pak+ku	ma-STAR+tza	SHINE-wa
R	pak.kuy7	matza7	0-kij-wa
G	beat-NSTR	star	3A-shine-IC
L	bludgeon	star	it-shone
FT	The bludgeon star [Venus] shone.		

[This date was the exact ninth Venus "anniversary" of (9 x 584 days since) the first-mentioned such event, at B7-C4, and was at maximum elongation (47° 00' 44") of Venus as evening star.]

Figure 98. Passage R4-R8.

**Passage R9-R17 (Fig.99):** "Nine days later [once again] a tenth jaguar was suppose to get taken." (Terry) This particular passage of the text we are told that for a sequence of 23 days of jaguar-taking was started 9 days earlier and so this was the 10<sup>th</sup> day in that sequence. We know that's the 10<sup>th</sup> day in the sequence because we know where it is in the sequence. When we get to the end we will find out that the 23<sup>rd</sup> jaguar is the last one to be taken, so we have to fill in some of the extra information of these particular statements that is only found out when you get further along in the text.

## R9-17






	R9	89	AFTER/JHS
	R10	178	su?
	R11	13	9 = /maktas=tujtu/
	R12	165	ja
	R13	63	ma
	R14	152	JAGUAR = /kajaw/
	R15	28	puk
	R16	124	ku
	R17	38	7i

T	AFTER-su	NINE	ja-ma	JAGUAR	puk-ku-7i
R	jus	maktas=tujtu	jama	0-kajaw=puk-7i	kajaw 0-puk-7i
G	back	four-past.five	day	3A-jaguar-take-OPT	jaguar 3A-take-OPT
L	after	nine	day	he-should-jaguar-take	jaguar it-should-get-taken
FT	Nine days later (once again) a (tenth) jaguar was supposed to get taken.				
OR:	Nine days later he was supposed to take a jaguar [with incorporated Direct Object]				

Figure 99. Passage R9-R17.

**Passage R18-R22 (Fig.100):** “In this governor’s headdress was a skin-drum and a hummingbird.” (Terry) This passage is one that exactly matched a passage I mentioned to you before. The skin-drum, the hummingbird, and the governor’s headdress that we read in the first passage had a glyph that we read as “that” meaning “that” is the farther one away. This passage has the glyph or syllabogram that we read as *yu* which spells out the word “this.” Although we can interpret this particular passage it is not all together clear. In any case, this particular passage states the accouterments that this personage is making use of and also provides us with this invaluable grammatical information which also yields syllabic sign readings.








R18-22

	R18	33	SKIN, presumably /naka/
	R19	72	DRUM, presumably /kowa/
	R20	55+55	?su+?su
	R21	98	yu
	R22	60	GOVERNOR('s headdress)

T	SKIN-DRUM	su+su	yu	GOVERNOR
R	0-naka=kowa	su7ksu7	yu7	GOVERNOR
G	3A-skin-drum	hummingbird	this ??	
L	it-is-skin-drum	hummingbird	this	governor
FT	This governor('s headdress) was a skin-drum (and a) hummingbird. [EN5]			

Figure 100. Passage R18-R22.

**Passage R23-R27 (Fig.101):** “The hallowed ancestral stela-inscriber [Harvester Mountain-Lord] had been for 1 year a Macaw-Monster Person.” (John) Basically what this passage says is that “somebody for 1 year had this Macaw-Monster status.” That was mentioned when Harvester Mountain-Lord performed his original ceremony some 1 year and 4 months ago. This tells us that these people do not count time the way Mayans do. Rather, they kept time the way we do. If you are, let’s say, 9 months into something, Mayans would say that you are in your 1<sup>st</sup> year and that you would be a 1 year “whatever that something was.” In this case, it’s not written like that. After they have completed a whole, but not a second year, is the time when you are a “1-year something or other.” That’s the way Mije-Sokeans count. That’s not the way Mayans count. This nice bit of evidence ends up being useful later on.

	R23	75	HALLOW/KO.NU7KS	
	R24	61	TITLE <sub>2</sub> (Reeds+Cross-Pillar) = ancestor/Olmec (?)	
	R25	81	TITLE <sub>4</sub> ("x-badge")	
	R26a	1	ONE = /tum-u/	
	R26b	72	YEAR/7AME7 or DRUM	
	R27	167	MACAW.MONSTER.PERSON [non-verbal predicate of preceding subject?]	

T	HALLOW	TITLE <sub>2</sub>	TITLE <sub>4</sub>
R	ko.nu7ks.i	TITLE <sub>2</sub>	TITLE <sub>4</sub>
G	ELSE-greet-PN ??	??	??
L	hallowed	ancestor(?)	x-badge
T	ONE+	YEAR	MACAW.MONSTER.PERSON
R	tum-u	7ame7	0-MACAW.MONSTER.PERSON
G	one-NUM	year	3A-??
L	one	year	he-is-Macaw Monster person

FT The hallowed ancestral(?) "x-badge" had had for one year Macaw Monster role/status.

[It was nine days later.

HML was supposed to take a(nother) jaguar; OR a(nother) jaguar was about to be taken.

HML was wearing a hummingbird and a skin drum?

HML had been a Macaw Monster devotee for a year.

cf. ?Associations of hummingbirds with warfare (as in Huitzilopochtli)?]














Figure 101. Passage R23-R27.

**Passage R27-R40 (Fig.102):** "When he [the Macaw Monster Person, Harvester Mountain-Lord] placed stones in order, he fought against the overthrowers of inscribed monuments." (Terry) Okay this passage is heavily phonetic in its spelling. It begins with a subordinate clause that provided a clue as to the reading of the *ne* sign as a depiction of the process of "setting stones in order." In Mije-Sokean, possessed nouns are required to be ordered with the possessed noun coming before its possessor. In Mayan, this order is reversed. With the 'i sign preceding *ne* and the *ji* following, the sequence 'i-ne-ji is surely a dependent clause in the completive aspect. As always the dependent clause precedes the independent clause and the 2 clauses agree in aspect: both being completive. The word *ne*, in the languages that it survives in means "to set stones in order" or "to place them in a row" or "to place them in a circle to enclose something." The point here is that the stones are being laid in a systematic and in an orderly way. (John) I have one comment. Although we mentioned that, this context reveals the origin of the sign. We figured out the reading of the sign from phonetic constraints that need to be read *ne* and it was only after we read this context did we realize that this was a picture of putting a stone in place.

(Terry) One of the signs provides another interesting example of how the constraints provided by the language model can narrow the possible interpretations of signs. This passage is 1 of 2 in which the logogram that we read as "lose" occurs (R35). In the other passage there is a

reference to something that follows the vanquished part. In this current passage, it refers to someone being "fought" or "doing the fighting." Both men can be taken as the referring to Harvester Mountain-Lord's enemies and so we treat this sign as a logogram. This logogram is followed by one more sign which is the last in the word. Following that sign comes a pronominal 'i in both cases. However, the sign that comes after the logogram differs in the 2 instances and so we had to treat them as spelling different nominalizations of the same verb stem. At the time while we were working on this logogram, the only way that this could be true was if one of the signs was for *ja* and the other one was for *ya*. No other consonant had 2 unread CV signs with the appropriate vowel spelling and so this meant that the verb had to end in "y" and also had to be preceded by a vowel "e" or "o." The only available word that this could have been was *tokoy* which means "to get lost." That was the only word that could provide an appropriate meaning as "overthrown ones" and as "overthrowers." It also turned out that this provided an appropriate reading for the earlier verb in which "my blood was completely spilled out." *Tokoy.pa'* means "to spill out" and *yak=tokoy* means "to overthrow." Note that this interpretation has nothing to do with the form of the sign. We did not take that into consideration and only after we got the reading did we figure out some possible reason why this sign might look the way it does.

#### R27-40

	R27	167	MACAW.MONSTER.PERSON [subject of following verb?]
	R28	38	7i
	R29	149+42	ne
	R30	138	ji
	R31	53	ja <sub>2</sub>
	R32	68	SYMBOL/KI7PS.I
	R33	101	si <sub>2</sub>
	R34	38	7i
	R35	149+50	LOSE/TOKOY
	R36	999	ya?
	R37	38	7i
	R38	170	ki
	R39	179	pi
	R40	20	wa

T 7i-ne-ji  
R 0-7i+ne7w-ji  
G 3A-3E-put.stones-DC  
L when-he-put.stones.in.order










T ja<sub>2</sub>-SYMBOL-si 7i-LOSE-ya? 7i-ki-pi-wa  
R jay7=ki7ps.i 7i+yak=tokoy.a7 0-7i+kip-wa  
G write-think-PN 3E-CAU-lose-AN 3A-3E-fight-IC  
L written-symbol its-overthrow(er) he-fought.against-him

FT When he [the Macaw Monster player/person] placed stones in order he fought against the overthrow(er)(s) of inscribed monuments.

Figure 102. Passage R27-R40.

**Passage R41-R48 (Fig.103):** "As for his [that is Harvester Mountain-Lord's] blood, when it was flowing, he [Harvester Mountain-Lord] shouts:" (Terry) The drawing here is misleading at R43 in that what looks like 2 egg-shaped elements are actually the numeral 2. The word for "2" begins with *wa* and it substitutes for the typical *wa* sign in this context. This is one of the very few cases where we have more than one sign that spells out a particular syllable. The verb here is '*i-na-si*' meaning "when it flows" (R44-R46) and what we say is "flowing" is Harvester Mountain-Lord's blood.







R41-48

	R41	38	7i
	R42	22	BLOOD = /nu7pin/
	R43	2	TWO /wa <sub>2</sub>
	R44	38	7i
	R45	43	na
	R46	101	si <sub>2</sub>
	R47	71	??
	R48	25	we
	R49	142	pa

T 7i-BLOOD wa 7i-na-si<sub>2</sub> ?? we-pa  
R 7i+nu7pin +wa7 7i+nuks-i 0-wej-pa  
G 3E-blood REL 3E-go-DI ?? 3A-shout-II  
L his-blood thing when-it-goes he-shouts  
FT As for his [HML's] blood, when it was flowing, he [HML] shouts:

Figure 103. Passage R41-R48.

**Passage S1-S6 (Fig.104):** "My blood is getting sprinkled for others." (John) Okay, this sign here is the one we read for "blood" (S2) which is a circle inside an otherwise empty field. *Some people, as I have mentioned, have thought that we were seeing a lot of blood in here* because we were being influenced by passing fashions in Mayan epigraphy, but that was just a guess we suppose. In any case, the reason we actually read this as "blood" is because of the constraints on its meaning and all of those constraints turn out to be the results of phonetic decipherment of the surrounding contexts of the sign. This is the object of the *tokoy* glyph and so it has to be something that can be spilled out. It's the object here of '*i-ko.wik-pa*' and so it has to be something that can be sprinkled. This is also something that human beings possess. It has to be able to an adverbial modifier in this case (we take it as "bloodletting") that can be incorporated into a verb to indicate the manner in which the actual verb is done. Basically, Terry tried to figure out what could be all of these things and the only thing that came to our minds was "blood."

	S1	44	na
	S2	22	BLOOD = /nu7pin/
	S3	45	ko
	S4	150	SPRINKLE/WIK
	S5	170	ki
	S6	143	pa

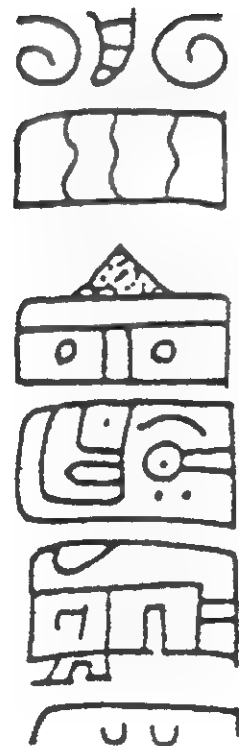
T na-BLOOD ko-SPRINKLE-ki-pa  
R na+nu7pin 0-ko.wik-pa  
G XE-blood 3A-ELSE-sprinkle-II  
L my-blood it-gets-sprinkled-ELSE  
FT "My blood is getting sprinkled for others/elsewhere."

Figure 104. Passage S1-S6.



Passage S7-S12 (Fig.105): "We [that is you all the readers and we all the raisers of this stela] shot them [the rebels] full of arrows from him [that is Harvester Mountain-Lord]." (Terry) This next passage is a striking example of the tight combination of phonetic and grammatical constraints on the decipherment. This clause is repeated again in this text at T42-T46 except that the next to the last sign is not there. The preceding sign is a syllabogram *ja* and so the optional sign is not a phonetic complement, but it must be an actual suffix. The sign *ja* that precedes it is preceded by the phonetic sign *pɸ* (S9b-S10). Since Sokean words are at most one syllable long, *ja* must spell a verb suffix that precedes the aspect marker *wɸ*. The only verb suffix that would be spelled *ja* is *yaj* and *yaj* is the indirect object marker. The suffix is spelled indirectly because it makes the absolutive prefix on the verb agree with the indirect object rather than on the direct object of the verb. This means that the verb has to have a direct object because it's transitive and so it has to begin with an ergative prefix. The prefix can't be "*i*" (3<sup>rd</sup> person) or *na* (1<sup>st</sup> person exclusive) since neither the "*i*" sign or the "*na*" sign occurs in the spelling of this verb. There are 2 other possibilities and both of them consist of a CVC sequence that would be spelled with 2 syllabic signs. One of them would be '*in* (for the 2<sup>nd</sup> person) and the other one is *tɸn* for the 1<sup>st</sup> person inclusive. However, '*in* would be spelled '*i-ni*, but there isn't any sign '*i* here. This leaves just one possible ergative prefix *tɸn* which according to the spelling rules would have to be spelled *tɸ-nɸ*. Now the second sign in this repeated sequence at the beginning of this verb has wavey-lines running across it (S8) that recalls the imagery of "water" in the Zapotec day sign "water" and in Itzapan iconography. The Sokean word *nɸ* "water" provides the origin for this sign's value. What remains to spell the verb stem is a triangular sign surmounting the *tɸp* sign (S9a). The *pɸ* sign could spell the suffix *pɸ* meaning "completely" that we saw with the "spilling" verb, but since the *pɸ* sign is used as the other sign in spelling the verb stem, we suspect, that it is a phonetic complement to a logogram. Thus, we have a transitive verb of the root shape: *consonant -ɸ'-p*. There's only 3 transitive verbs that would end in *ɸp* and the only plausible one is *tɸp* which means "to shoot with arrows." If this is the context, then this would be beautiful since it follows a battle and it proceeds or it's in a stage of a bloody sacrifice. In any case, the verb indicates that "we are dealing with Harvester Mountain-Lord's enemies" and so we glossed this triangle sign as "deal with" rather than to specifically say "shoot with arrows." (John) One last point about this is that because this means "we" meaning "us the speakers and you the readers of this monument" it's attributing the audience and the stela-raisers to be the ones who are acting on behalf of the boy king. This is something that doesn't happen in most Mesoamerican texts, but it indicates something presumably about the context of this event.

T42- T46



S7-12

S7	102		tu
S8	43		nu
S9a	48a		DEAL.WITH = ?SHOOT/TUP [EN9]
S9b	47'		pu
S10	165		ja
S11	87		yaj
S12	20		wu

T tu-na-DEAL.WITH-pu-ja-yaj-wu  
 R 0-tun+tup-pu7-jay7-yaj-wu  
 G 3A-IE-?shoot-?ENTIRELY-NDIR-3P-DC  
 L we-dealt.with-him/them-for.him/them  
 FT We [the raisers of this stela and their audience] arrow-shot/?dismembered him/them [the rebel(s)] for him/them. [EN9]

Figure 105. Passage S7-S12.

**Passage S13-S21 (Fig.106):** "When he [that is Harvester Mountain-Lord's rival] set down bloodily, the macaw-bedecked one [Harvester Mountain-Lord or his rival] was an animal-guise impersonator." (John) Okay, the point of this sentence is that someone, it could be Harvester Mountain-Lord or it could be his rival, is dressed like a macaw-bedecked one. That means that someone is dressed like a macaw and they are doing that as an impersonator of the animal-guise to which a "shape-shifter" has changed. This happens after the bloodied rival falls to the ground or when he hits the ground. So with this 'i suffix in the beginning and this *ji* at the end, once again, this looks like an dependent completive clause and it receives the independent clause that contains no aspect because this is a nominal predication. Therefore, the macaw-bedecked one is animal-guise impersonator. After this passage we are going to get a whole series of clauses that have both dependent and independent clauses. This sign here (S15) that we read as "set down" is based on the confirmation that this is the moral equivalent of the Mayan sign for "sky/over/earth" glyph which depicts the sun at sunrise or sunset. The word which means the "sunset" is also used for "birds to come down from perches or to set down where they belong."

S13-21



S13	38	7i
S14	22	BLOOD = /nu7pin/
S15	36+44	SET, presumably /tu7p/
S16	138	ji
S17a	97	7o
S17b	29	wa
S18	161	BEDECK, possibly /wa=tzak/
S19	164	GUISE <sub>2</sub> /JAMA <sub>2</sub>
S20	41	PLAY/MUTZ
S21	113	tzi

T 7i-BLOOD-SET-ji  
R 7i+nu7pin=tu7p-ji  
G 3E-blood-set-DC  
L when-he-set.down-bloodily

T 7o+wa-BEDECK GUISE<sub>2</sub>-PLAY-tzi  
R 7owa=wa=tzak.i 0-jama=matz.i7  
G macaw-good-do-PN 3A-guise-play-AN  
L macaw-bedecked he-is-animal-guise-impersonator












FT When he [HML's rival] set down bloodily, the macaw-bedecked one [HML or his rival] was an animal-guise-impersonator [EN10]

Figure 106. Passage S13-S21.

**Passage 22-S24 (Fig 107):** "He is my bloody thing." (Terry) This quoted statement,

**Passage S25-S34 (Fig.108):** "When he [Harvester Mountain-Lord's rival] was doing nothing but quiver or flap bloodily, Macaw [Harvester Mountain-Lord] was shouting 'He is my bloody thing'." (Terry) First of all, we interpret the expression as saying "he is my bloody thing" as one that's similar to what we would say when "somebody is about to beat up somebody else" but before you do that you say "you're mine." So "he is my bloodied thing and I have taken him over and he's mine and he's bloody." The value of the sign *ti* was inferred from its use as a phonetic complement to the logogram for *pit.i* "prisoner" but here it spells a complete word that is used to indicate "nothing but." Here, the rival is doing "nothing but quiver" emphasizing his "helplessness."

**S25-34**

	S25	38	7i
	S26	22	BLOOD = /nu7pin/
	S27a	65	mi
	S27b	101	si <sub>2</sub>
	S28	64	ti
	S29	159	MACAW = /7owa/
	S30	25	we
	S31	143	pa
	S32	44	na
	S33	22	BLOOD = /nu7pin/
	S34	20	wa












T 7i-BLOOD-mi+si ti  
R 7i+nu7pin=mi7ks-i +ti  
G 3E-blood-quiver-DI  
L when-he-quivers-bloodily only

T MACAW we-pa na-BLOOD wa  
R 7owa 0-wej-pa 0-na+nu7pin +wa7  
G macaw 3A-shout-II 3A-XE-blood REL  
L macaw he-shouts it-is-my-blood thing

FT When he/it [HML's rival('s wing)] was doing nothing but quiver/flap bloodily, Macaw [HML] was shouting, "It/He is my bloody thing/one."

Figure 108. Passage S25-S34.

**Passage S35-S43 (Fig.109):** "Now when he stepped on tip-toe bloodily, [Macaw was shouting] 'I am the sun of coronated one'." (John) Here, he's dressed up like a macaw and he claiming to be the sun and this sort of recalls the 7 Macaw figure of Mayan mythology. One thing that we can toss out is that it might be among the Post-Classic Q'uciche that 7 Macaw was a bad-guy, but it might be that among the Pre-Classic Mije-Sokeans that he was a good-guy.

	S35	24	NOW/...TI
	S36	22	BLOOD = /na7pin/
	S37	56	te
	S38	149+42	ne
	S39	999	?STEP
	S40	138	ji
	S41a	42b	7u
	S41b	125	SUN, presumably /saw/ [EN2]
	S42a	129	KNOTTED.CLOTH
	S42b	75	HALLOW/KO.NU7KS
	S43	101	si,

T NOW BLOOD-te-ne-?STEP-ji  
 R ADV<sub>1</sub>-ti <7i+>na7pin=te7n-ji  
 G now 3E-blood-tip.toe-DC  
 L now when-he-stepped-bloodily















T 7u+SUN KNOT+HALLOW-si  
 R 7u+saw X+ko.nu7ks.i  
 G XA-sun ?-ELSE-greet-PN  
 L I-am-sun coronated

FT Now, when he stepped (on tip-toe) (up, down, in, out, again?) bloodily,  
 [he said] "I am the sun, a coronated.one/crowned.prince. [cf EN29]

Figure 109. Passage S35-S43.

**Passage S44-T6 (Fig.110):** "Then when my overthrown rival's wing or shoulder came to rest bloodily, it had been quivering or flapping." (Terry) This is an explicit description of the state of things after 7 Macaw finished his battle with his rival. The rival who is dressed up like a bird, just like Harvester Mountain-Lord was, was on the ground with his shoulder or wing was flapping bloodily. (John) Also this is just a more elaborated statement.

## S44-T6

	S44	24	NOW/...TI
	S45	44	na
	S46	149+50	LOSE/TOKOY
	S47	92	ye
	S48	38	7i
	S49	176b	saj
	S50	38	7i
	S51	22	BLOOD = /na7pin/
	T1	36+44	SET, presumably /tu7p/
	T2	138	ji
	T3	65	mi
	T4	103+101	si
	T5	44	na
	T6	20	wa

T NOW na-LOSE-ye 7i-saj  
 R ADV<sub>1</sub>-ti na+yak=tokoy.e 7i-saj  
 G now XE-CAU-lose-PN 3E-wing  
 L now my-overthrown-one his-wing/shoulder







T 7i-BLOOD-SET-ji mi-si-na-wa  
 R 7i+na7pin=tu7p-ji 0-mi7ks-nay7-wa  
 G 3E-blood-set-DC 3A-quiver-PRE-IC  
 L when-it-hit.the.ground-bloodily he/it-had-quivered

FT Then when my overthrown (rival/one)'s wing/shoulder came to rest bloodily, he/it had been quivering/flapping."

Figure 110. Passage S44-T6.

Passage T7-T10 (Fig.111): "Behold, he [Harvester Mountain-Lord] had been a stela-inscriber for one year." (John) "Stela-inscriber" is just one of these made up things so that we could have something to say here. However, it does refer to some particular status, title, or office. Here we have *me* as a phonetic complement (T9) which is an interesting sign because it looks like the Mayan God N glyph plus the phonetic *yi* complement and so it looks to be a sign that was borrowed in to this writing system as a single unit.

# T7-10


	T7a	38	7i
	T7b	101	si,
	T8a	146	ONE = /tum-u/
	T8b	72	YEAR/7AME7 OR DRUM
	T9	169	me
	T10	81	TITLE, ("x-badge?")

T	7i+si,	ONE+	YEAR-me	TITLE,
R	7is	tum-u	7ame7	0-TITLE,
G	see	one-NUM	year	he-is-badge
L	behold	one	year	"x-badge"
FT	Behold, he [HML?] had been an "x-badge" for one year.			

Figure 111. Passage T7-T10.

Passage T11-T12 (Fig.112): "He was a star-warrior-type one." (John) That's one of the statuses he held during that year.

# T11-12

	T11	30	STAR.WARRIOR
	T12	20	wa

T	STAR.WARRIOR	wa
R	0-STAR.WARRIOR	+wa7
G	3A-??	REL
L	he-is-star.warrior	-type
FT	He was a star-warrior-type one.	

Figure 112. Passage T11-T12.

**Passage T13-T23 (Fig.113):** “After 13 days ascent jaguar number 23 got taken.” (Terry)  
 Okay now this brings us to the final date on the stela: October 11, 157 CE (8.5.17.15.2).  
 Here we have “rising or ascent jaguar number 23” is focused in this sentence given its position before the adverbial phrase “after 13 days.” It can be translated as the “Rising Jaguar #23.”  
 This shows that as a highly salient point, jaguar #23 is the jaguar taken on the 23<sup>rd</sup> day or night of “jaguar-taking” which began with the first mention of the appearance of a heavenly jaguar on the night that Venus and probably Mercury both shone. From the astronomy it’s clear that Mercury was in the head of Scorpius on this date. The numeral expression is *’i’ps-ko-tuku* which is the way that you say 23 in Mije-Sokean. However, the element *ko*, which separates the additive components of Mije-Sokean numeral words is not explicitly represented here. This is generally true of the logographic spelling of numerical expressions in other languages as well. *’I’ps* is the only possible word for “20” and so the proposed value is *si* for this sign that follows the “moon-shaped” sign here (T15b) based on the spelling rules. This is exactly how we realized that this sign was the syllabic sign for *si*.

	T13	171	GO.UP/KI7M
	T14	152	JAGUAR = /kajaw/
	T15a	104	MOON/POY7A OR TWENTY/7I7PS
	T15b	101	si <sub>2</sub>
	T16	3	3 = /tuka/
	T17	89	AFTER/JUS
	T18	178	su?
	T19	13	13 = /mak=tuka/
	T20	172	GUISE <sub>1</sub> = /jama/
	T21	28	puk
	T22	124	ku
	T23	20	wa

T GO.UP-JAGUAR TWENTY+si-THREE  
 R ki7m.w7=kajaw 7i7ps-ko-tuka  
 G go.up-AN-jaguar twenty-and-three  
 L ascent jaguar twenty-three

T AFTER-su THIRTEEN GUISE<sub>1</sub> puk-ku-wa  
 R jus mak=tuka jama 0-puk-wa  
 G back ten-three day 3A-take-IC  
 L after thirteen day it-got-taken








FT After thirteen days ascent/ascending jaguar (number) twenty-three got taken.

Figure 113. Passage T13-T23.

**Passage T24-T30 (Fig.114):** “The symbol stone got replaced upright.” (John) Evidently, these symbol stones had been “over-turned” by the bad guys. The verb does not contain an ergative marker and so this has been medio-passivized. The text doesn’t mention who it was that put the stones back up and so we don’t have an explicit subject. This form is used in

situations where there's an non-active intransitive verb (one where there's no agent) and so you will get a verb/subject order, rather than a subject/verb order.

#### T24-30







	T24	56	te
	T25	149+42	ne
	T26	44	na
	T27	54	kak
	T28	20	wa
	T29	68	SYMBOL/KI7PS.I
	T30	101	si <sub>2</sub>

T	te-ne-na-kak-wa	SYMBOL-si <sub>2</sub>
R	0-te7n.na7=kak-wa	ki7ps.i
G	3A-tip.toe-STAT-replace-IC	think-PN
L	it-got-replaced-upright/on.tip-toe	symbol
FT	The symbol(-stone)s got replaced upright.	

Figure 114. Passage T24-T30.

**Passage T31-T36 (Fig.115): "His set-aside symbols [perhaps body-parts] got shared out."**  
 (John) This is another transitive verb with no ergative marker and so the agent is expressed. What gets "shared" is the grammatical subject and so the verb is preceding that as usual. Now what were those "set-aside" symbols? We suppose that this is a generic term and that not every mention of this word necessarily refers to the same thing or whatever it was the last time where a symbol was used. These were set aside and they belong to somebody that we presume is Harvester Mountain-Lord. The occasion for these being set aside was something they understood, but it's something that we have to infer. They look back at this later on in the text. We suppose that these are trophies obtained in the battle that we were carried off by the winner.

#### T31-36

	T31	176b	saj
	T32	20	wa
	T33	38	7i
	T34	37	ku
	T35	44	na
	T36	68	SYMBOL/KI7PS.I

T	saj-wa	7i-ku-na-SYMBOL
R	0-saj-wa	7i+kuw.na7=ki7ps.i
G	3A-share-IC	3E-stash-STAT-think-PN
L	it-got-shared.out	his-set.aside-symbol
FT	His set-aside symbols [?body-parts] got shared out. [EN12] => [EN9]	













Figure 115. Passage T31-T36.



Passage T37-T47 (Fig.116): "We [that is you all, the readers and we all, the raisers of this stela] shot the coronated one's brother-in-law full of arrows for him [that is Harvester Mountain-Lord]." (Terry) Okay, first of all, T37-U14 (U14 being the last glyph on the front-side of the stela) is the wrap up of the text on the face of the stela and a good deal of repetition and recapitulation is found. For example, T37-T46 recapitulates S7-S12 and it now informs us that Harvester Mountain-Lord's rival was his brother-in-law. U1-U3 is new and refers to the disposition of Harvester Mountain-Lord's defeated rival. U4-U8 is new and it refers to the sprinkling of blood elsewhere or for others by somebody and invokes S1-S6 without necessarily referring to the same event. U9-U14 recapitulates T31-T36 and informs us that the set aside symbols that shared-out were broken or were in pieces.

Now here in our text from T37-T46 the verb is one that we have seen before and the actors (the "we" inclusive) are the same, but now the text doesn't speak about the actions of several individuals, rather it refers to actions on one individual for another individual. As it turns out, we have here a mention of the person who is being dealt with: that being the coronated one (Harvester Mountain-Lord). This then is a reference to something that belonged to Harvester Mountain-Lord. In this case, it's a kinship term that begins with *pi* (T40). There's only one kinship term that begins with *pi* and that's *pini* which means "a man's brother-in-law." It does not tell us whether it's a sister's husband or a wife's brother. We can create a story about who the brother-in-law was with respect to issues like how it was that Harvester Mountain-Lord got to be born and how it was that he got to installed in office when he barely 12 or 13 years old and whether it was his sister who was married to somebody before he was born. We just don't know which brother-in-law it was. (John) There's just no other kinship term for this anywhere that begins with *pi*.

(Terry) There is one thing that is correlated with the fact that Harvester Mountain-Lord is so young and the fact that there was a challenge to the regular succession roughly at the time of his birth. It suggests that throughout the course of the events recorded on this stela that Harvester Mountain-Lord was only able to stay in power because of that associated set of people who were willing to help him stay in power instead of being misplaced by some relative. (John) This explains all the emphasis on "we all" or "you all" as the helpers. (Question): Would this infer that a dynastic kingship was in place? (Terry) We would rather let that accusation run free for a while.

	T37	129	KNOTTED.CLOTH
	T38a	148a	?nu
	T38b	101	si <sub>2</sub>
	T39	38	7i
	T40	179	pi
	T41	70	ni
	T42	102	tu
	T43	43	nu
	T44a	48a	DEAL.WITH = ?SHOOT/TWP
	T44b	47'	pa
	T45	165	ja
	T46	20	wa




T KNOT-?nu-si<sub>2</sub> 7i-pi-ni tu-nu-DEAL.WITH-pa-ja-wa  
 R X+ko.nu7ks.i 7i+pin<sub>1</sub>7 0-tun+tap-pa7-jay7-wa  
 G ?-ELSE-greet-PN 3E-brother.in.law 3A-IE-?shoot-?ENTIRELY-NDIR-IC  
 L crowned.one his-brother-in-law we-dealt.with-him-for.him  
 FT We [the raisers of this monument] arrow-shot/?dismembered [EN9] the crowned one's brother-in-law for him.

[The reference to HML as "the crowned one" seemingly emphasizes the legitimacy of his position vis-a-vis his brother-in-law's.]

Figure 116. Passage T37-T46.

**Passage U1-U3 (Fig.117):** "The dripping sacrifice was supposed to get finished or used up." (Terry) Okay, here we have an instance of the verb written as a syllabogram *yaj*. We were able to see this verb in a more complete version elsewhere on this stela so we know that it was *yaj*. Here we take it to be verb meaning "to get finished " or "to get used up." It needs an aspect or root suffix and the next sign 'i does spell a root suffix, mainly the optative. The verb *yaj'i* therefore, indicates that this is a point in the ritual after the arrow of sacrifice, at which time it was time for something to be completed or used up. At this point in the narrative the discussion has been of victory rituals that have included the manipulations of symbol stones and the sacrifice of the brother-in-law. These rituals are drawing to a close and there are only 2 sentences remaining on the main body of the text and so what is being completed is likely to be some facet of the victory rituals. The time of the event is 13 days after "we shot Harvester Mountain-Lord's brother-in-law full of arrows." If he were kept alive during that time that would have been the time to finish him off. The "dripping" part of the interpretation of the logogram at U3 is pretty much a nickname based in part of the sign's shape and we are not partial to a particular interpretation of what it is except that it was something that was supposed to be finished off. So it probably refers to some aspect of the brother-in-law, but it doesn't deal with the brother-in-law directly.

## U1-3

	U1	87/88	yaj
	U2	38	7i
	U3	99	DROPS.as.SACRIFICE

T yaj-7i SACRIFICE  
 R 0-yaj-7i SACRIFICE  
 G 3E-finish-OPT ??  
 L let-it-be-finished sacrifice  
 FT The dripping sacrifice was supposed to be finished/used.up.

Figure 117. Passage U1-U3.

**Passage U4-U8 (Fig.118):** “He [Harvester Mountain-Lord] was sprinkling it elsewhere or for others.” (John) This is a full transitive version of a verb that we saw earlier in Passage S1-S6 in a statement saying “my blood is getting sprinkled elsewhere for others” without saying who it was that was doing the sprinkling. Here it says “he did the sprinkling.” It’s not obvious to us who “he” is, though it was probably obvious to the readers. The sprinkled substance isn’t mentioned either and so it must be understood. It was a 3<sup>rd</sup> person reference “it was sprinkled” and so we suppose that the people reading this text would have understood what was being said here.

U4-8






U4	38		7i
U5	45		ko
U6	150		SPRINKLE/WIK
U7	170		ki
U8	143		pa
T	7i-ko-SPRINKLE-pa		
R	0-7i+ko.wik-pa		
G	3A-3E-ELSE-sprinkle-II		
L	he-sprinkles-it-ELSE		
FT	He [HML] was sprinkling it for.others/elsewhere;		

Figure 118. Passage U4-U8.

**Passage U9-U14 (Fig.119):** “The symbols [perhaps the body parts] had gotten shared out earlier in or as pieces.” (Terry) Okay, this has a verb with no ergative markers and so this is a medio-passive: “they got shared out” or “it got shared out.” This is the final sentence of the front text and uncharacteristically the object receives the non-active verb. One possibility is that the object is fronted or is focused by fronting. This is somewhat surprising since this is not new information. The other possibility is that the unusual word order relates to its final position in the text. This passage is a recapitulation of T31-T36.









		U9	25	we
		U10	149+42	ne
		U11	68	SYMBOL/KI7PS.I
		U12	63	ma
		U13	176b	saj
		U14	20	wa
T	we-ne SYMBOL ma saj-wa			
R	wen.e7 ki7ps.i ma 0-saj-wa			
	OR we7n.e			
G	break-PN think-PN earlier 3A-share-IC			
	OR split-PN			
L	piece/broken symbol earlier they-got-shared.out			
	OR some			
FT	the symbols [?body-parts] had gotten shared out earlier in pieces.			
	OR broken symbols had gotten shared out earlier.			
	OR a few symbols had gotten shared out earlier			

Figure 119. Passage U9-U14.

Okay now we get to the side texts. **Passage V1-V5 (Fig.120):** "Behold, he had been for 13 years a regional overlord." (John) "Regional Overlord" is a really big test because we had no idea what sign was there, but now we know how to read it. It is interesting that earlier you get this pattern involving the 'i-si' spelling before a numeral followed by the "year" sign. Here we have a different form of the *si* glyph. There's 2 forms: one with a bar on top and one without. After this text was uncovered it was noticed that we had a direct substitution which establishes that was the correct interpretation. The drawing here has a 12; however, there is another dot in the middle. The interesting thing here is that the text says that "he was 'whatever it was' for 13 years." It was 13 years and some months since he was installed in office and so this is the same kind of time cannon that we saw in the case where he had been a Macaw-person for a year. This tells us where his birthday lies and it allows us to say that he was born after the battle that took place. In fact, he could have barely been conceived by this time. His mother may have missed her 1<sup>st</sup> period at the time of that other battle.







# V1-5

		V1	38	7i
		V2	103+101	si
		V3	12	13 = /tuku=metz-a/ (possibly 12 = /mak=metz-a/)
		V4	72	YEAR/7AME7 OR DRUM
		V5	??	TITLE <sub>x</sub>

T	7i-si	13	YEAR	TITLE <sub>x</sub>
R	7is	mak=tuku	7ame7	0-TITLE
G	see	ten-three-NUM	year	3A-??
L	behold	thirteen	year	he-is-TITLE
FT	Behold, there/he was for thirteen years a TITLE (?regional overlord).			

Figure 120. Passage Vi-V5.

**Passage V6-V8 (Fig.121):** "And then a garment was getting folded." (John) On the front of the stela when they are talking about garments being folded, the context of that has always been blood sacrifice and so we supposed that this was an reference to that here as well. This could also be a reference back to when he was preparing for penis perforation.

		V6a	nn	?
		V6b	34	AND.THEN
		V7a	93	tu
		V7b	100	CLOTH/TUKU7
		V8a	105	FOLD, probably /paks/
		V8b	142	pa <sub>2</sub>

T	??+AND.THEN	tu+CLOTH	FOLD+pa
R	? AND.THEN	tuku7	0-paks-pa
G	? and.then	cloth	3A-fold-II
L	? and.then	clothing	it-gets.folded
FT	And then a garment was getting folded;		

Figure 121. Passage V6-V8.



**Passage V19-V24 (Fig.123):** “[He said] What I chopped has been planted and harvested well” or “what I chopped is a planted and a good harvest.” (John) Well this may sound a little weird, but what we suppose is that this a retrospective comment and the “what I chopped” the *na-tzet.e* is recalling the earlier instance of *na-tzet-ji* when he was “beheading the prisoner.” This is a reasonable way of making a back-reference to the prisoner and they simply nominalized the glyph for beheading. The point is that what began that way, with the beheading of the guy who had come into office, has come out. It doesn’t necessarily mean that they buried the severed head, but they should have!













V19-24				
		V19 44	na	
		V20 133+133	tze+tze	
		V21 123	PLANT/NIP7	
		V22 38	7i	
		V23 20	wa	
		V24 114	?tuk	[sign identification not definite]
T	na-tze+tze	PLANT-7i	wa-tuk	
R	na+tzetz.e	0-nip7.i	0-wa=tuk.i	
G	XE-chop-PN	3A-plant-PN	3A-good-harvest-PN	
L	my-chopped-thing	it-is-planted-thing	it-is-well-harvested-thing	
FT	"What I chopped has been planted and harvested well."			
OR	"What I chopped is a planting and a good harvest."			

Figure 123. Passage V19-V24.

**Passage V25-V30 (Fig.124):** “An animal-guise appeared divinely on his body.” (Terry) In the climax of this text Harvester Mountain-Lord “shape-shifts.” The basic sequence conveyed on this side text is that he performed a bloodletting, alluded to by the reference to the folding of cloth, he speaks (referring back to the beheading of the captive), and he “shape-shifts” perhaps after having gone into a trance induced by the bloodletting. The same sequence is found on the front of the text on the peak day and this is also found on the Tuxtla Statuette. The text on the Tuxtla Statuette has a structure that is analogous in many ways, although the text is much shorter than the La Mojarra Stela.

V25-30








		V25 164	GUISE <sub>2</sub> /JAMA <sub>2</sub> or <ja>
		V26 63	ma
		V27 176	sa
		V28 70	ni (or DRUM OR YEAR/7AME7)
		V29 91	APPEAR
		V30 20	wa
T	GUISE <sub>2</sub>	ma-sa-ni-APPEAR-wa	
R	jama	0-masa=ni7.APPEAR-wa	
G	guise	3A-god-BODY-appear-IC	
L	animal-guise	it-appeared-divinely-on.his.body	
FT	An animal-guise	appeared divinely on his body.	

Figure 124. Passage V25-V30.

Well, we have taken advantage of everybody's time and probably the people who want to close us down, so we are really glad that we had a chance to play all of this out. We never thought that we would be able to get through this. Thank You! (Applause!)

End of Day Two 5:45 PM.

# Running Translation of La Mojarra Stela 1.

Running translation of the La Mojarra Stela  
repeated themes (words and phrases) are underlined

A1-9 It was the third day of the seventeenth month; the long count was 8.5.3.3.5, and the day was 13 Snake.

B1-4 A sun-eating moon [solar eclipse] took place;  
B5-C7 Piercingly the bludgeon star [Venus] had shone earlier [the day before], late in the day.

D1-F6  
Coronated ones hallowed by sprinkling fought against noble (and) war-leader-type succession-supporters [would-be successors/usurpers].

G1-H2 Earlier a day, a night, and a day had passed,

[[two-day time increment leading to 8.5.3.3.7]]

H3-I4 (when) behold, there was a prisoner for thirteen years.

[13 (and 2 day) year time increment leading to 8.5.16.3.7, 23 June 156 CE, the day before summer solstice]

I5-J5 And then there was an imprisonment that was for six months.

[six months time increment leading to 8.5.16.9.7]

J6-8 He [HML] speaks:

K1-7 "My arm was bristling/prickling,"

L1-3 (said) the youthful (boy-type) commanding general Harvester Mountain-Lord.

L4-9 "When I chopped (off his head), he was ruined/it was his ruin."

M1-7 As for the ascent/installation/accession (OR ascending one), that was how the latter/aforementioned (the prisoner) saw/witnessed it/him.

M8-16 It was the fifteenth day of the first month; the long count was 8.5.16.9.7, and the day was 5 Deer.

[13 years 6 months and 2 days after previous long count]

N1-4 For four months (is/was the) sprouting.

[four month time increment leading to 8.5.16.13.7]

N5-8 When he goes up, another year is in a bundle.  
When he goes.up/ascends, the year is bundled.

OR

When he/they go(es).up/ascend(s), a(nother) year is (in a) bundle(d).

OR

When he goes.up/ascends, there/it is a year-bundle.  
His ascent/re-accession year was (a) bundled (thing).  
[one year time increment leading to 8.5.17.13.7]

N9-12 His offering got scattered.



N13-17 That governor('s headdress) was a skin-drum (and a) hummingbird.

N18-29 His Macaw.sign, his eccentric.flint, and his pectoral stone memento got brandished.

[ABOUT TEN SIGNS MISSING] [was the "spiller" mentioned here?]

N\*30-\*32 ... (he) got bedecked.

N\*33-\*37 Now the priest was he who is a lordly beard-mask (wearer).  
OR, Now the lordly beard-mask wearer was a/the priest.

N\*38-017 After thirteen days, the god(s) Macaw Monster and Scorpius, and King Harvester Mountain-Lord and/on the ascension throne got revealed/appeared in rulership.

[13 day time increment leading to 8.5.17.14.0, 3 Face, day 3 in month 6: 9th Venus anniversary at new moon]

018-26 When Sky Quetzal was ascending for others (OR elsewhere) (at) the hallowed ground jointly measured by handspans ...  
OR the ground jointly measured by handspans had been hallowed.

[ABOUT EIGHT SIGNS MISSING] [was the "spiller" mentioned here?]

027-31 The drum got pounded;

030-33 <then> the garment(s) was/were getting folded in front  
[win paks-pa tuku7] [cf. Q3-8]

034-P2 When his buttocks were getting pierced, he [HML] speaks:

P3-9 "He spilled/hid my blood in another's place."

P10-15 (The) royal ruler(ship) is/was (a/the) X time/count  
success-ion/-or;

P16-18 Y is/was a coronation cloth.

P19-22 (the god) Ten Sky is/was the rainy season god.

P23-30 Their [HML and his cronies's] power-assuming buttocks got pierced and covered for others.

OR His [HML's] royal buttock-cheeks got pierced and covered for others.

P\*31-\*39 [ABOUT 6 SIGNS MISSING] When the ancestral(?) ... was blood-letting from inside the penis, he was a prince-type.

P\*40-Q1 Now a macaw-lashing was supposed to get taken.

Q3-8 Earlier, (a) garment/cloth(s) was/were getting folded in plain sight.  
[ma ken.e paks-pa tuku7] [cf. 030-33]

Q9-14 The ?notable royal-type X is/was a/the flower lord beard-mask (wearer).

Q15-25 King Harvester Mountain-Lord, when he was putting it [cloth/garment?, macaw lashing?, eccentric.flint?, beard-mask?] away, piercingly now the star-warrior got hallowed.

Q9-12 The notable royal-type one is a flower.

Q13-17 The lordly beard-mask (wearer) is King HML.

Q18-25 When he put it (etc.) away, piercingly now the star-warrior got hallowed.

Q26-33 The aforementioned one sings a song which is about/of an animal-guise/day('s length):

Q34-42 "Now earlier my penis-receivers [staunchers] had been a body-covering and a ruler's head-wrap."

Q43-47 Scorpius shone. [Venus was in Scorpius, just past its head.]

Q48-R3 Now a noble heavenly animal jaguar [= Mercurv?] appeared/got revealed/shown.forth.

R4-8 The bludgeon star [Venus] shone.

R9-17 Nine days later (once again) a (tenth) jaguar was supposed to get taken.

[nine day time increment leading to 8.5.17.14.9]

R18-22 This governor('s headdress) was a skin drum (and a) hummingbird.

R23-27 The hallowed ancestral(?) "x-badge" had for one year Macaw Monster status/role.

R27-40 When he [the Macaw Monster player] placed stones in order he fought against the overthrow(ers) of inscribed monuments (lit. symbols).

R41-48 As for his [HML's] blood, when it was flowing, he [HML] shouts:

S1-6 "My blood is getting sprinkled for others/elsewhere."

S7-12 We [the raisers of this stela] arrow-shot/?dismembered them [the rebel(s)] for him.

S13-21 When he [HML's rival] set down bloodily, the macaw-bedecked one [HML or his rival] was an animal-guise-impersonator.

FT When he [HML's rival] set down bloodily, the macaw-bedecked one [HML or his rival] was an animal-guise-impersonator [EN10]

S22-24 "It/He is my bloody thing/one."

S25-34 When he/it [HML's rival('s wing)] was doing nothing but quiver/flap bloodily, Macaw [HML] was shouting: "It/He is my bloody thing/one."

S35-43 Now, when he [HML] stepped (on tip-toe) bloodily, [he said] "I am the sun, a coronated.one/crowned.prince."

S44-T6 Then when my overthrown (rival/one)'s wing came to rest bloodily, it/he had been quivering/flapping."

T7-10 Behold, he [HML?] had been an "x-badge" for one year.

T11-12 He was a star-warrior-type one.

T13-23 After thirteen days ascent jaguar (number) twenty-three got taken.

[13 day time increment leading to 8.5.17.15.2]

T24-30 The symbol(-stone)s got replaced upright.

T31-36 His [HML's] set-aside symbols [?body-parts] got shared out.

T37-46 We [the raisers of this monument] had arrow-shot/?dismembered the crowned one's brother-in-law for him.

U1-3 The dripping sacrifice was supposed to be finished/used.up.

U4-8 He [HML] was sprinkling it for others;

U9-14 The symbols [?body-parts] had gotten shared out earlier in pieces.

V1-5 Behold, there/he was a thirteen (OR twelve)-year ?regional.overlord.

[possible 12- or 13-year time increment]

V6-8 And then a garment was getting folded

V9-10 He uttered:

V11-18 -- The stones that he set in order thus were symbols, ancestral(?)-type ones --

V19-24 "What I chopped has been planted and harvested well."

OR "What I chopped is a planting and a good harvest."

V25-30 An animal-guise appeared divinely on his body.

END

# CODES FOR GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES AND MORPHEMES

## absolute person markers

XA	exclusive absolutive: {7u+}
3A	third person absolutive: {0}

## ergative person markers

XE	exclusive ergative: {na+}
IE	inclusive ergative: {tan+}
2E	second person ergative: {7in+}
3E	third person ergative: {7i+}

## verb-deriving prefixes

AWAY	: {ku>}
MOUTH	with the mouth: {7aw=}
BODY	on the body: {ni7.}
ELSE	in someone else's place: elsewhere, for someone else: {ko.}
ASSOC	together, jointly: {nu.}
CAU	causative {yak=}

## verb-inflecting suffixes

NDIR	indirective: {-jay7}
PRF	perfect: {-nay7}
ENTIRELY	: {-pu7}

## plural person marking suffixes

AP	animate plural: {-ta7m}
IP	inanimate plural: {-yaj}
3P	third person plural: {-yaj}

## aspect-mood suffixes

II	independent incompletive: {-pa}
DI	dependent incompletive: {-e ~ -i}
IC	independent completive: {-wu}
DP	dependent completive: {-ji}
OPT	optative: {-7i}

## stative-deriving suffix

STAT	stative: {.na7}
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## noun-deriving suffixes

PN	passive nominalization: {.e}, {.i}, {.e7}, {.i7}, {.u7}
AN	active nominalization: {.u7}, {.a7}, {.i7}
NSTR	instrument noun: {.kuy7}, {.7}

## locative enclitics

LOC	locative: {+mu7}
FROM	: {+k}

## subordinating enclitics

REL	relativizer: {+wu7}
WHEN	: {+7k}

# EPI-OLMEC VOCABULARY

**Bolded** forms are partially or entirely spelled out with syllabograms. Underlined forms are proto-Sokean forms that correspond to the inferred semantics of logograms. Unmarked forms are roots from which attested derived forms occur in Epi-Olmec texts.

ca 115 roots, ca 30 affixes

unacc = an intransitive (single-argument) use of a transitive (dual-argument) stem where only the patient is expressed

unerg = an intransitive use of a transitive stem where only the agent is expressed

s	noun // sustantivo
sv	verbal noun // sustantivo verbal
pcp	participle // participio
vt	transitive verb // verbo transitivo
vi	intransitive verb // verbo intransitivo
adj	adjective // adjetivo
adv	adverb // adverbio
sr	relational noun // sustantivo relacional
dem	demonstrative // demostrativo
num	numeral // número
pron	pronoun // pronombre
int	interrogative // interrogativo
rel	relativizer // relativizador
med	mediopassive // mediopasivo
M-S	Mije-Sokean (Mijean & Sokean)
S	Sokean (Gulf Sokean & Soke Proper)
Soke	Soke Proper (Eastern Soke & Western Soke)

## Sources of Reconstructed/Read Forms

TK (1963), SW (1991 & 1995), 1991 (TK), 1992 (TK), 1993 (TK), 1994 (TK), 1995 (TK), 1996 (TK), 1997 (TK), 1998 (TK), 1999 (TK), 2000 (TK)

[TK = Terrence Kaufman; SW = Søren Wichmann]

The following information is given in each entry or subentry:

- the Epi-Olmec form
- grammatical class
- English gloss(es)
- how spelled, in angle brackets
- what level reconstructible to: authority for reconstruction

Individual spellings of verbs list the actual prefixes and suffixes that happen to be attached to the verbs.

# LEXICAL ITEMS

- 7ame7 s year. Spelled <DRUM/YEAR. DRUM/YEAR-me>. (M-S: TK)
- 7i pron:int-rel who?. Spelled <7i>. (S: TK)
- 7i7ps num twenty. Spelled <MOON/TWENTY-si>. (M-S: TK)
- 7is vt/unerg to see. Spelled <7i-si-wu>. (M-S: TK)  
 7is expl lo!, behold! Spelled <7i-si>. (M-S: 1991)
- 7otuw vi to speak. Spelled <7o-tu-pa>. (S: SW)
- 7owa s macaw, parrot. Spelled <7o+wa, MACAW>. (M-S: 1992)
- 7oy vi to go (and return), to take a trip. Spelled <7i-7o-7i>. (M-S: TK)
- jak vt/vi to cut. (S: TK)  
 ku.jak vi to cross over. Spelled <ku-CROSS-wu>. (S: 1993)
- jam vt to remember. (S: TK)  
 kuk=tza7=jam.e. pectoral stone memento. Spelled <7i-ku-MIDDLE-tza-ja-me>. (S: TK+1993)
- jama s day; shape-shifter's animal guise.  
 Spelled <ja-ma, ja<sub>2</sub>-ma, GUISE<sub>1</sub>, GUISE<sub>2</sub>>. (TK+1991)  
 nu7pu=jama ss buzzard animal guise. Spelled <nu-pu-GUISE<sub>2</sub>-ma>.
- jay7 vt/vi to write. (M-S: TK)  
 jay7=ki7ps.i sv < v + v inscribed monument. Spelled <ja<sub>2</sub>-SYMBOL-si>
- je7 dem that. Spelled <je>. (M-S: TK)
- je7.tzu dem thus, like that. Spelled <je-tzu>. (S: 1992)
- jej.a7 sv < vi god: 'living one'. Spelled <GOD-ja>. (S: 1994)
- ji7tz vt/vi to (get) wrinkl(ed). (S?: 1994)  
 ji7tz.i7 sv < vt wrinkled, pleated; earthly Longlip god. Spelled <ji-LONGLIP<sub>2</sub>, ji-tzi>. (M-S?: 1994)
- joj sr inside. Spelled <jo>. (S: TK)
- jome7 adj new. Spelled <jo-me-NEW>. (M-S: TK)
- jup vt to cover. (M-S: TK)  
 ni7.jup.7 sv body-covering. Spelled <?LOINCLOTH-pu>
- ju7ps vt to lash, to tie something onto something else (Soke: SW)  
 7owa=ju7ps.i sv macaw-lashing. Spelled <7o-wa=ju(7ps)-si>.
- jus adv after[ward]. Spelled <AFTER, AFTER-su>. (M-S: 1993)
- kaiaw s jaguar. Spelled <JAGUAR>. (M-S: TK)

- kak** vt/unacc to (get) replace(d). Spelled <kak-wu>. (S: SW)  
**kak.e** sv < vt exchange, replacement. Spelled <kak>.  
**kak.u7** sv < vt replacer, successor. Spelled <kak>. (Soke: 1992)
- kakpe7** s scorpion; Scorpius. Spelled <kak-SCORPIUS-pe>. (M-S: TK)
- ka7i** vi to die, to lose consciousness. Spelled <DIE>. (S: TK)
- kan** s penis. Spelled <PENIS>. (M-S: 1992)
- ken** vt to see. (Soke: 1993)  
**ken.e** pcp < vt seen: visible, public. Spelled <ke-ne>. (Soke: 1993)
- kij** vi to give light, shine. Spelled <SHINE-wu, ki-wu>. (M-S: SW)
- ki7m** vi to go up, accede. Spelled <7i-GO.UP>. (S: TK)  
**ki7m.u7** sv < vi accession, rising, ascent, installation. Spelled <GO.UP>. (S: SW)  
**7aw=ki7m** vi to rule. (S: SW)  
**7aw=ki7m.u7** sv < vi rule(rship).  
 Spelled <7aw-GO.UP, 7aw-GO.UP-mu>. (S: 1991)  
**ko.ki7m.i** sv < vi accession/one.who.accedes on behalf.of.others/elsewhere.  
 Spelled <ko-ki-mi-GO.UP>.
- kip** vt to fight against. Spelled <7i-ki-pi-wu>. (M-S: SW)
- ki7ps.i** sv < vt symbol(stone) [celt, figurine, stela; badge, token, memento, souvenir].  
 Spelled <SYMBOL-si>. (M-S: TK+1992)
- ko7=suw** s priest. Spelled <PRIEST-SUN>. (M-S: 1993)
- kotzuk** s mountain, hill. Spelled <MOUNTAIN>. (S: TK)
- kom** s notched house-post, pillar. (M-S: TK)  
**tzap(=?win)=kom** s type s sky(-?face) pillar. Spelled <ko-SKY-?FACE-PILLAR>
- ko.yumi** s lord. Spelled <ko-LORD-mi>. (S: TK)
- kot** vt to put away. Spelled <7i-ko-te>. (S: TK)
- kowa** s drum. Spelled <DRUM/YEAR>. (M-S: TK)
- kuk=tza7=jam.e** s pectoral stone memento. Spelled <7i-ku-MIDDLE-tza-ja-me>.
- kuw** vt to raise; to put up/away. (Soke: SW+1994)  
**kuw.na7** adv < vt raised; put up/away. Spelled <ku-na>. (Soke: SW+1992)
- kuv** or **was=tuitu** num seven. Spelled <ONE-ONE-FIVE>. (Soke or M-S: TK)
- ku7** s hand, arm. Spelled <na-ku>. (M-S: TK)
- ku7s** vt to eat. Spelled <EAT>. (S: TK)
- kuw7** vt/unacc to (get) dye(d). Spelled <ku-wu>. (S: 1993)

**kuy7** vt/unacc to (get) cover(ed). (M-S: SW)

**ko.wu7tz=kuy7** vt + vt/unacc to get pierced and covered for others. Spelled <ko-PIERCE-ka-wu>.  
(S+M-S: SW)

**ma** adv earlier. Spelled <ma>. (M-S: TK)

**mak** num ten. (M-S: TK)

**mak tzap** num+n Ten Sky (a god). Spelled <ma-FIVE-FIVE-SKY>. (M-S: TK+1992)

**mak=metz-a** num twelve. Spelled <ONE-ONE-FIVE-FIVE>.

**mak=tuku** num thirteen. Spelled <ONE-ONE-ONE-FIVE-FIVE>.

**mak=mo(ko)s** or **yut** num fifteen. Spelled <FIVE-FIVE-FIVE>. (Soke: TK)

**mak=tuitu** or **yut ko tum-u** num sixteen. Spelled <ONE-FIVE-FIVE-FIVE>.

**mak=wus=tuitu** or **yut ko metz-a** num seventeen. Spelled <ONE-ONE-FIVE-FIVE-FIVE>.

**mak=tuku=tuitu** or **yut ko tuku** num eighteen. Spelled <ONE-ONE-ONE-FIVE-FIVE-FIVE>

**maktas** num four. Spelled <ONE-ONE-ONE-ONE>. (M-S: TK)

**mak(ta)s=tuitu** num nine. Spelled <ONE-ONE-ONE-ONE-FIVE>. (M-S: TK)

**masa(n)** n/adj holy (thing), god. (M-S: TK)

**masa=wik.i** sv something/someone hallowed by sprinkling. Spelled <ma-sa-SPRINKLE-ta-ma>. (S: 1992)

**masa=ni7.APPEAR** vi to appear divinely on the body. Spelled <ma-sa-ni-APPEAR>

**matza7** s star. Spelled <ma-STAR-tza>. (M-S: TK)

**maw.u7** pcp < vt ruined, destroyed. Spelled <ma-wu>. (Soke: TK)

**metz=** num by twos. Spelled <me-tze>. (M-S: TK)

**metz-a** num two. Spelled <ONE-ONE>. (M-S: TK)

**mak=metz-a** num twelve. Spelled <ONE-ONE-FIVE-FIVE>

**mi7ks** vi to quiver. Spelled <7i-BLOOD-mi-si, mi-si-na-wu>. (M-S: SW)

**mo(ko)s** num five. Spelled <FIVE>. (M-S: TK)

**mak=mo(ko)s** num fifteen. Spelled <FIVE-FIVE-FIVE>

**mon7** vt to wrap. (M-S: TK)

**RULER=ko7=mon7.a7** sv ruler's head-wrap. Spelled <KNOT+GOVERNOR-7a>.

**mow** vi to sleep. Spelled <SLEEP>. (S: TK)

**mu7a** s deer. Spelled <DN: DEER>. (S: TK)

**mutz** vi to play. (S: TK)

**mutz.i7** sv < v impersonator. Spelled <PLAY-tzi>. (S: 1994)

**naka** s skin. Spelled <SKIN>. (S: TK)

**naks** vt/unacc to (get) beat(en) [drum]. Spelled <BEAT>. (M-S: TK)

**nas** vi to pass. Spelled <na-sa-wu>. (M-S: TK)

**nas** s earth. Spelled <EARTH>. (M-S: TK)

**na.tzat7.e=nas** adj < vt + s ground jointly measured by hand-spans. Spelled <nu<sub>2</sub>-SPAN=EARTH>.



ne7k vt to set aside. (S: SW)

ne7k.e pcpcp < vt set aside. Spelled <ne-ke>. (S: SW+1993)  
OR: \*nek stacked

ne7w vt to set stones in a row/wall/circle (M-S: SW)

ne7w.e sv/pcpcp (stones) set in order. Spelled <ORDER.STONES = ne>.

nip7 vt/unacc to plant, sow; bury. Spelled <PLANT-pi-wu>. (M-S: TK)

nip7.i sv < vt planting, planted (thing). Spelled <PLANT, PLANT-7i>. (M-S: SW)

ko.nu7ks vt to bless, hallow. Spelled <HALLOW-wu>. (M-S: SW)

ko.nu7ks.u sv hallowing. Spelled <HALLOW>

ko.nu7ks.i pcpcp < vt blessed, hallowed. Spelled <HALLOW-si, KNOT-?nu-si>. (M-S: SW)

nu7pu s buzzard (= vulture). Spelled <nu-pu>. (M-S: TK)

nu7pu=jama ss buzzard animal guise. Spelled <nu-pu-GUISE<sub>2</sub>-ma>.

nu7pin s blood. Spelled <BLOOD>. (M-S: TK)

nuks vi to go along. Spelled <7i-nu-si>. (M-S: TK)

pak.kuy7 sv bludgeon. Spelled <pak-ku>. (S: 1992)

paki7 adj hard, strong, powerful. Spelled <pa-ki>. (S: SW)

paks vt/unacc to (get) fold(ed). Spelled <FOLD-pa>. (S: SW+1992)

pey unacc to get waved/swung. Spelled <pe-wu>. (S: SW+1993)

pini7 s brother-in-law of man. Spelled <pi-ni>. (S: TK)

pit vt to tie (in a bundle) (M-S: TK)

pit.i sv < vt bundle; prisoner. Spelled <TIE, TIE-ti>.

poy7a s moon; month, veintena. Spelled <po-7a, MOON, MONTH>. (M-S: TK)

saw=ku7s.u7 pov7a s type s sun-eating moon, solar eclipse. (S: TK)

puw vt/unacc to (get) scatter(ed). Spelled <pu-wu>. (S: 1991)

puk vt/unacc to (get) take(n)/acquire(d)/achieve(d). Spelled <puk-7i, puk-ku-7i, puk-ku-wu>. (M-S: TK)

sa7sa7=tzap=ko.pun s noble sky animal (Soke: 1999)

sa7sa7(=pun) s noble, aristocrat. Spelled <sa<sub>2</sub>-NOBLE<sub>2</sub>>. (Soke: SW+1993)

saj vt/unacc to (get) share(d) out. Spelled <7i<sub>2</sub>-sa<sub>2</sub>+pa<sub>2</sub>, saj-wu>. (M-S: SW)

saj s wing; shoulder. Spelled <7i-sa>. (M-S: TK)

si7i7 s backside, butt. Spelled <si-7i>. (S: 1992-1994)

sij v to cast lots. Spelled <GAMBLE>. (Soke: 1994)

su7ksu7 s hummingbird. Spelled <suxsu>. (M-S: SW)

suk s bean(s). Spelled <BEANS>. (M-S: TK)

suw s sun. Spelled <SUN>. (M-S: TK)

7aw=suw s time-span. (S: 1993)

ko7=suw s priest. Spelled <PRIEST-SUN>. (?M-S: 1993)

te7 dem the aforementioned; the latter: it; that. Spelled <te>. (M-S: 1992)

te7n vi to stand (on tip-toe). to step (on) (S: TK)

te7n.na7 adv upright(ly). on tip-toe. Spelled <te-ne-na>. (S: TK+1992)

tok vt to stain

tok.e pcp stained. Spelled <to-ke>. (S: 1993)

ko.tokoy(-pu7) vt to cover up/over OR to spill on behalf of others/  
elsewhere. Spelled <7-ko-LOSE-pu-wu>. (TK+1992)

(yak=)tokoy.a7 sv < v overturning/upsetting/dumping

OR agent etc. Spelled <7i-LOSE-ya>. (M-S: TK+1992)

(yak=)tokoy.e sv < v overturned/upset/dumped one.

Spelled <na-LOSE-ye>. (M-S: TK+1992)

tui7 s rain. Spelled <RAIN>. (M-S: TK)

tuitu num six. Spelled <ONE-FIVE>. (M-S: TK)

tuka=tuitu num eight. Spelled <ONE-ONE-ONE-FIVE>. (M-S: TK)

was=tuitu num seven. Spelled <ONE-ONE-FIVE>. ([M-JS: TK)

mak=tuitu or yat ko tum-u num sixteen. Spelled <ONE-FIVE-FIVE-FIVE>

mak=was=tuitu or yat ko metz-a num seventeen. Spelled <ONE-ONE-FIVE-FIVE-FIVE>.

mak=tuka=tuitu or yat ko tuku num eighteen. Spelled <ONE-ONE-ONE-FIVE-FIVE-FIVE>

tuk vi to happen. Spelled <tukxpa>. (S: TK)

tuk vt to cut, harvest. (M-S: TK)

tuk.u7 sv < vt harvester. Spelled <tuk>.

tuk.u7 pcp < vt having been cut. Spelled <tu-ka>.

wa=tuk.i sv well-harvested (thing). Spelled <wa-tuk>.

tuki s water turtle. Spelled <TURTLE-ki>. (S: TK)

tu7ki s trogon, quetzal. Spelled <TROGON>. (TK 1997) [Final /i/ implied by omission of following <7i>.]

tuku7 s cloth, garment. Spelled <CLOTH. tu+CLOTH>. (M-S: 1992)

tuka num three. Spelled <ONE-ONE-ONE>. (M-S: TK)

mak=tuka num thirteen. Spelled <ONE-ONE-ONE-FIVE-FIVE>. (M-S: TK)

tum-u num one. (S: TK)

tus vt to prick, sting. (S: TK)

tus.i adj < vt with hair standing on end. Spelled <tu-si>. (S: 1992)

- tup** vt to shoot with arrows.  
Spelled <tu-nu-ARROWSHOOT-pu-ja-wu>, <tu-nu-ARROWSHOOT-pu-ja-yaj-wu>. (M-S: TK)
- tu7p** vi sun to set. bird to land. Spelled <SET>. (S: SW)
- tza7** s stone. (M-S: TK)  
**kuk=tza7=jam.e** s pectoral stone memento. Spelled <7i-ku-MIDDLE-tza-ja-me>.
- tza7yji** adv late in the day. Spelled <tza-ji>. (Soke: SW+TK)
- tzajin** s snake. Spelled <DN:SNAKE>. (M-S: TK)
- tzap** s sky. Spelled <SKY, SKY-pa>. (M-S: TK)  
**mak tzap** num+n Ten Sky (a god). Spelled <ma-FIVE-FIVE-SKY>. (M-S: TK+1992)
- tzat7** vt to measure by hand-spans. (M-S: SW)  
**tzat7.u7** sv hand-span measuring device. Spelled <7i<sub>2</sub>-ni<sub>2</sub>-ko-SPAN-7u<sub>2</sub>>.  
**nu.tzat7.e=nas** adj < vt + s ground jointly measured by hand-spans. Spelled <nu<sub>2</sub>-SPAN=EARTH>.
- tzetz** vt to chop (off). Spelled <na-tze-tze-CHOP-ji>. (M-S: SW)  
**tzetz.e** sv < vt chopped off (thing). Spelled <na-tze+tze>.
- tzu7** s night. Spelled <TIME-SKY<sub>2</sub>-NIGHT>. (M-S: TK)
- tzuk** vt to do (< to touch). Spelled <DO>. (Soke < M-S: TK)  
**wu=tzuk** vt/vi to array, adorn, bedeck. Spelled <BEDECK>. (Soke: 1993)  
**tzuk.i=pun** sv deedsman. Spelled <DO<sub>2</sub>×ki>.
- tzusi** s child under 12. Spelled <tu-si>. (S: TK)
- wan.e** sv < vi song, chant. Spelled <SING-ne>. (S: TK)  
**wan.e=tzuk** vi:incorp to perform a chant (Soke: TK+1992)
- wej** vi to shout. Spelled <we-pa>. (S: TK)
- wen.e7** sv < vt (something) broken, piece. Spelled <we-ne>. (S: SW+1992)  
OR **we7n.e** sv < vt a few, some. Spelled <we-ne>. (M-S: SW+1992)
- wik** vt/unacc to (get) sprinkle(d). (S: 1992)  
**ko.wik** vt/unacc to (get) sprinkle(d) for others/elsewhere.  
Spelled <7i-ko-SPRINKLE-ki-pa, ko-SPRINKLE-ki-pa>. (S: SW+1992)  
**wik.i** sv < vt result of sprinkling. Spelled <SPRINKLE>. (S: SW+1992)  
**masa=wik.i** sv something/someone hallowed by sprinkling. Spelled <ma-sa-SPRINKLE-ta-ma>. (S: 1992)
- win** sr in front. Spelled <wi-BEFORE>
- wis** vt to uproot. (M-S: SW)  
**wis.i** pcpc < vt uprooted. Spelled <UPROOT-si> or <wi<sub>2</sub>-si>.
- wo7m** vi to sprout. (S: SW)  
**wo7m.a7** s sprout. Spelled <wo-ma>.

wu7tz vt/unacc to (get) pierce(d). Spelled <7i-PIERCE+i>. (S: SW+1993)  
wu7tz.u7 sv piercingly, as a piercer. Spelled <PIERCE>.  
wu7tz=kuy7 vt + vt/unacc to get pierced and covered. Spelled <ko-PIERCE-ku-wu>. (S+M-S: SW)

wu adj good. (S: TK)  
wu=tuk.i sv < vt well-harvested (thing). Spelled <wu-tuk>.  
wu=tzuk vt to bedeck, adorn, array. Spelled <BEDECK>. (Soke: TK+1993)

was.tuk num two. Spelled <ONE-ONE>. (M-S: TK)  
was=tuitu num seven. Spelled <FIVE-ONE-ONE>. ([M-JS: TK)  
mak=was=tuitu or yut ko metz-a num seventeen. Spelled <FIVE-FIVE-FIVE-ONE-ONE>

yaj vi:med to be finished. Spelled <yaj>. (S[elite]: TK)

yu7 dem this. Spelled <yu>. (M-S: TK)

yut or mak=mo(ko)s num fifteen. Spelled <FIVE-FIVE-FIVE>. (Soke: TK)  
yut ko tum-u or mak=tuitu num sixteen. Spelled <ONE-FIVE-FIVE-FIVE>  
yut ko metz-a or mak=was=tuitu num seventeen.  
 Spelled <ONE-ONE-FIVE-FIVE-FIVE>.  
yut ko tuku or mak=tuku=tuitu num eighteen.  
 Spelled <ONE-ONE-ONE-FIVE-FIVE-FIVE>

#### AFFIXES AND CLITICS READ (33)

these are all spelled out with syllabograms

<u>form</u>	<u>gloss</u>	<u>when reconstructed</u>
<b>adverbial particle</b>		
ma	'earlier'	TK
<b>absolutive person markers</b>		
7u+	X Abs	TK
Ø	3 Abs	TK
<b>ergative person markers</b>		
na+	X Erg	TK
tun+	1 Erg	TK
7in+	2 Erg	TK
7i+	3 Erg	TK
<b>verb-deriving prefixes</b>		
7aw=	with the mouth	TK
ko.	in another's place: on behalf/instead of others, in someone else's place, elsewhere:	
	glossed interlinearly ELSE	TK
ku.	away	TK
ni7.	on the body	??
nu.	associative	TK

<b>verb-inflecting suffixes</b>		
-pu7	completely	TK
-jay7	indirective	TK
-nay7	perfect/progressive	TK
<b>plural person marking suffixes</b>		
-ta7m	1,2 plural; animate noun plural	TK
-yaj	3 plural	TK
<b>aspect-mood suffixes</b>		
-pa	independent incomplete	TK
-wu	independent complete	TK
-e	dependent incomplete	TK
-i	dependent incomplete	TK
-ji	dependent complete	SW
-7i	optative	TK
<b>stative-deriving suffix</b>		
.na7	v > adv	1992
<b>noun-deriving suffixes</b>		
.kuy7	v > n:instrument	TK
.e(7)	v > s (esp. non-active)	TK
.i(7)	v > s (esp. non-active)	TK
.u7	v > s (esp. active)	TK
.a7	v > s (esp. active)	TK
.7 or .9	v > s (with prefix/incorporee)	TK
<b>locative enclitics</b>		
+ma7	generic locative	TK
+k	from	TK
<b>subordinating enclitics</b>		
+wu7	he who/that which is N/A/#/D [RELativizer]	TK
+7ku	when [relative subordinator]	1993
<b>other enclitics</b>		
+ti	only, just, nothing but	TK

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## NOTEBOOKS ON MAYA HIEROGLYPHIC WRITING

Beginning with the IInd Maya Workshop in 1978, Dr. Linda Schele and, after 1993, her co-presenters, and guest presenters, have prepared a Notebook for each Workshop. After 1998, Schele's successors have continued the tradition. In 1996, the name was changed from Workshop to Forum. These Notebooks not only serve the Workshops, but are also the only published materials documenting year by year the advance of the field of Maya hieroglyphic decipherment. All Notebooks are spiral bound with heavy paper covers. Each is divided into two major sections: an introduction to Maya glyphs and an analysis of glyphic texts. The former section is up-dated periodically to incorporate new discoveries and interpretations. Through the 1988 Workshop, the glyph texts used in the analysis sections were Classic period texts from Palenque, the Maya site at which the longest inscriptions occur. These texts were divided into three groups, one of which was analyzed each year, with relevant updating. Beginning in 1989, Workshops focused on other sites and topics, as elaborated below. The earliest Notebooks are largely of historical interest, the information in them having been superseded by that in later Notebooks, but those still in print are listed here for the convenience of individuals and libraries desiring to obtain as complete a set of Notebooks as possible.

1977-1981: I-Vth Workshops: Out of print  
 1982: VIth Workshop: \$35. 104 pages divided roughly equally between explanatory material and analyses of the Palace Tablet, the Temple XVIII jams, and the Tablet of the 96 Glyphs, at Palenque. By Linda Schele.  
 1983: VIIth Workshop: \$35. 127 pages divided roughly equally between explanatory material and analyses of the 3 panels in the Temple of the Inscriptions, at Palenque. By Linda Schele.  
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 2000: XXIVth Forum: \$45. 156 Pages. Tikal and Its Neighbors. Introductory section by Linda Schele. Tikal section by Nikolai Grube and Simon Martin.  
 2001: XXVth Forum: \$45. 232 pages. Early Classic Maya Glyphs/Epi-Olmec La Mojarra Script. Introductory section by L. Schele, updates by N. Grube. Maya section by N. Grube and S. Martin. Epi-Olmec section by Terrence Kaufman and John Justeson.  
 2002: XXVIth Forum: \$45. Palenque and Its Neighbors. Completely rewritten and updated introductory section by Nikolai Grube. Palenque section by Grube and Simon Martin. Available after March 20, 2002.

Prices include all shipping and handling. Order on the registration form, or from Maya Workshop Foundation, PO Box 3500, Austin Texas 78764-3500. For orders outside the US and Canada, contact the Mesoamerican Heritage Institute, 510 West Forest, Houston, Texas, 77079-6914 USA. Email: mhipkl@netropolis.net.

## FORUM AND WORKSHOP TRANSCRIPTS

Complete transcripts ("Proceedings") of the lectures of Dr. Linda Schele, Peter Mathews, Nikolai Grube, Simon Martin, David Stuart, Stephen Houston, John Robertson, Terrence Kaufman, and John Justeson at the Workshops/Forums on Maya Hieroglyphic Writing at the Maya Meetings at Texas are now available. Beginning with 1996, the name of the event changed from Workshop to Forum. Transcribed and edited by Phil Wanyerka of Southern Illinois University, with the approval and corrections of the presenters, each volume contains the verbatim text of approximately 12 hours of lectures, together with figures, maps, and other useful aids to following the text. Each comes spiral-bound, with cardstock covers.

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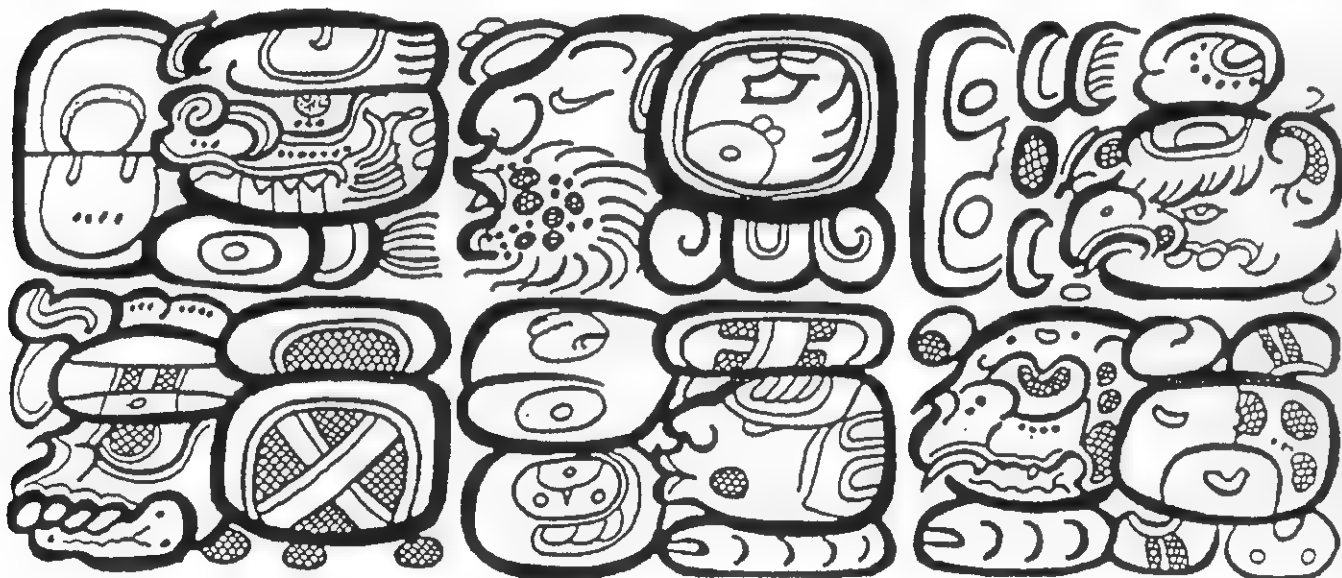
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## MIXTEC NOTEBOOKS

The Mixtec Pictographic Writing Workshop Notebooks bring together information from widely scattered, difficult to locate sources, as well as new insights and analysis. The current year's Notebook for the will be available at and after the Workshop. The Notebooks are prepared by John Pohl, Director of Mixtec Studies at the Texas Meetings, with contributions by Robert Williams, and others. Dr. Pohl is a Mixtec expert and research archaeologist at UCLA's Fowler Museum. Each volume will contain some introductory material with updates and changes, and a body of material specific to that year's topic. Each comes spiral-bound with card stock covers. The First Notebook, for the 1994 Workshop, covers the Codex Zouche-Nuttall. 134 pages, \$35. 1995 Workshop: Codex Vindobonensis. 144 pages, \$35. 1996 Workshop: Codex Bodley. 176 pages, \$45. 1997 Workshop: Borgia Codex. 90 pages, \$45. 1998 Workshop: Codex Selden. 135 pages, \$45. 1999 Workshop: Codex Columbino-Becker. 138 pages, \$45. 2000 Workshop: the frescoes of Mitla and other postclassic murals. 105 pages, \$45. 2001 Workshop: The Selden Roll. \$45. 2002 Workshop: Lienzos of Coixtlahuaca. \$45. Prices include all shipping and handling. Order on the registration form, or from Maya Workshop Foundation, P.O. Box 3500, Austin TX 78764-3500.

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